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Gough Adds' Scotland
8.294.

BALMERINO AND ITS ABBEY.

Historia testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriae, magistra vitae,
nuntia vetustatis.

CICERO *De Oratore*.



RUINS OF BALMERINO ABBEY.

BALMERINO AND ITS ABBEY

A Parochial History

*Gough MS. Scotland
8. 294.*

BY JAMES CAMPBELL, M.A.

MINISTER OF BALMERINO

With an Appendix of Illustrative Documents



EDINBURGH

WILLIAM PATERSON, PRINCES STREET

MDCCLXVII



Common Seal of the Abbey.
(Reduced in Size.)

TO
THE PARISHIONERS OF BALMERINO
THIS VOLUME,
WRITTEN CHIEFLY FOR THEIR USE,
IS DEDICATED,
IN TOKEN OF REGARD,
BY
THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

THE following attempt to elucidate the history of the Parish and Abbey of Balmerino had its origin in a Lecture on that subject which the Author delivered in the Parochial School-room in the year 1863, embodying the result of inquiries which he had been making for some time previously. Having promised to comply with a desire expressed by many, that this Lecture should be printed, he proceeded to make further researches, with the view, merely, of rendering it more complete before committing it to the press. But so many new materials were thus eventually collected, that he resolved to alter his plan, and prepare a systematic work. This course seemed the more appropriate from the circumstance, that the ample materials available for the illustration of the history both of the Abbey and Parish, contained in the Abbey Chartulary, and in the Records of the Kirk-Session, Presbytery, and Synod, had not previously been turned to account in that way.

The Author's aim has accordingly been to construct a work which should embrace whatever information of any interest he could gather concerning the Parish, from the

earliest times of which any memorials exist down to a recent period, with such illustrative documents appended to it as could be contained within reasonable limits. With what success this design has been executed he must leave the Reader to decide. He may state, however, that he has left unexplored no likely source of information which was accessible to him. He regrets that the difficulty of prosecuting such inquiries has so much retarded the completion of the work ; but he ventures to hope that its greater comprehensiveness, as now issued, will be regarded as compensating for the delay which has occurred.

It is well known that, by the publication, in recent years, of the Registers and Chartularies of the ancient Scottish Bishoprics and Religious Houses, and of a great variety of Diaries, Family Documents, and National Records, many new materials have been provided for the illustration of the *local*, as well as of the general history of the country. These sources of information—from which there are few parishes whose history might not receive illustration—were generally not accessible to the Authors of the Statistical Accounts of Scotland. From this circumstance, as well as from the necessary restriction of their limits, these works, though valuable for the views which they present of the state of the several parishes at the periods of their publication, are, in most cases, very deficient in *historical* as distinct from *statistical* information. The time appears therefore to have come for the preparation of Parochial Histories, properly so called. The multiplication of such works would be attended with

several advantages: intelligent interest in particular localities would be promoted amongst their inhabitants: the student of Scottish history would be enabled to form distinct conceptions of great national movements by observing their effects within the limited area of the district with which he may be most familiar: and the general history of the country — more especially in reference to social progress — would profit by the light thus made to converge upon it from many different quarters.

It is almost unnecessary to say that in traversing the extensive period of time, and in dealing with the considerable variety of subjects, which this book embraces, the Author has freely availed himself of the labours of previous explorers in the same fields; and he believes that no apology will be required for the insertion, in a work of this kind, of so many extracts from old Authors and Records, whose quaint and racy language is so much more interesting than would be any mere paraphrase or abridgement of it.

It is necessary to explain that the title of Part III. was chosen with reference to the *prevailing* character of its contents. That other matters than those strictly corresponding with the title have been occasionally introduced in that portion of the work, is due partly to the circumstance of their being found in the Records from which the notices of the ministers and ecclesiastical affairs of the Parish are drawn, and partly to the difficulty of arranging them in a separate section. It is also necessary to state that the engraving of the Common Seal of the Abbey, which is inserted on page

iv., is considerably reduced in size, the original being about two inches and three quarters in length, and one inch and three quarters in breadth.

A brief account of the Abbey Chartulary, the substance of which is incorporated in the following pages, may not be out of place here. The existing MS., which is preserved in the Advocates' Library, is a small octavo volume of twenty-six and a half leaves of parchment, containing sixty-nine documents in the Latin language. The writing is beautifully executed in the Old-English character, and probably belongs to the latter half of the fourteenth century. The Colophon, which is twice repeated on the fly-leaves of the volume, and is executed in a hand-writing evidently more recent than the body of the MS., is as follows :—*Liber Sancte Marie de Balmorinach. Qui eum alienaverit sit ipse alienatus a regno Dei. Scriptum est hoc per fratrem Laurencium predicti loci. Anno Domini M^oCCCC^{mo} sexto X^o. Amen.** The Chartulary was printed in 1841 for the Abbotsford Club, the "Book of Lindores" being included in the same volume. The Editor, the late Mr W. B. D. D. Turnbull, has appended to the Balmerino Chartulary twelve documents referring to the Abbey, collected from other quarters. The contents of the Chartulary relate almost exclusively to the endowments and privileges of the Monastery, and throw little light on its

* *Translation* :—"The Book of Saint Mary of Balmorinach. Whosoever shall give it away, may he himself be excluded from the kingdom of God. This has been written by brother Laurence of the foresaid place. In the year of our Lord 1416. Amen."

internal economy. The Chartulary is evidently incomplete, even in respect of the period, and the kind of transactions, which it embraces, while its most recent date appears to be not later than the middle of the fourteenth century. The Editor, in his Introduction, has succeeded in making out a copious, though incomplete, list of the Regular Abbots and Commendators, to which several additions have been made in the present volume. It is to be regretted, however, that Mr Turnbull's pages are disfigured by his intense Romish bigotry, and hatred of the Scottish *Deformation*, as he styles the great ecclesiastical Revolution of the sixteenth century, and which he characterizes as "one of the most atrocious events recorded in the history of the last thousand years."

The Author desires, in conclusion, to return his best thanks to many gentlemen who have kindly assisted him in his inquiries. He has mentioned several of these elsewhere,* and will therefore not repeat their names here. Amongst others to whom he has been indebted, he may be permitted to record his special obligations to the late lamented Dr Joseph Robertson of the General Register House, Dr David Laing of the Signet Library, and Samuel Halket, Esq., of the Advocates' Library, for their valuable counsel and assistance in his researches amongst the Collections under their charge; to Professor Lorimer, Lyon Clerk, for heraldic information regarding many of the landed proprietors of the Parish; to Robert Dickson,

* See notes at pages 115, 118, 128, 265, 268, 304, 309, 349, 357, 369, and Appendix, No. III. page 339.

Esq., Surgeon, Carnoustie, who has not only furnished the Author with much information regarding the lands of Barry Parish—once the property of the Abbey—but has generously presented him with the requisite number of *fac-similes* of the Monks' Signatures executed by himself in Photo-Lithography, from a charter in his possession ; and to Mr Frederick Johnston, M.A., a parishioner, whose pencil has supplied the spirited sketch of the Abbey Ruins, which has been engraved as the Frontispiece to this volume.

BALMERINO MANSIE,
20th November, 1867.

DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

The View of the Abbey Ruins to face the Title-page.
The Signatures of the Monks to face page 128.

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Part I.

HISTORY OF THE PARISH PREVIOUS TO THE
FOUNDATION OF THE ABBEY (1229).

CHAPTER I.

PRE-HISTORIC PERIOD.

"All that tread
The globe are but a handful to the tribes
That slumber in its bosom."

BRYANT.

IN attempting to trace the history of "OUR PARISH" from the earliest times of which there exist any memorials, we are at the outset met by the questions, Who were its primitive inhabitants, and what can be learned regarding them? In order to give some intelligible answer to these questions, it will be necessary to view the Parish in connection with the surrounding district and the country at large.

Preceding all written records of Scotland, there is an unwritten, but, so far as it goes, perfectly trustworthy history, which is now attracting much attention. Materials for this history, strange to say, have been found chiefly underground. The ancient warrior had his weapons and personal ornaments buried beside him, as if for use in another world; and to this custom we owe much of our information regarding the earliest inhabitants of Scotland. Thus from grave-mounds and stone-cairns, and also from peat-bogs, drained marshes and lakes, and remains of ancient dwellings, numerous relics have been obtained which give us interesting glimpses of a race, or races, who peopled these islands many ages before the Christian era. Archæologists have divided this un-

written history into three periods, and these they have named from the materials of which were formed the implements used by the people. The oldest depositaries contain only weapons made of flint, horn, and bone, proving that the use of metal was then unknown; having been, doubtless, lost, as we know many other arts were lost, in the migrations of previous ages. This is called the **STONE PERIOD**. Afterwards, when the art of working in metals was introduced, a compound of copper and tin was that first employed, and the oldest metallic implements which have been found are of this material, which gives its name to the **BRONZE PERIOD**. The introduction of iron followed, and then commenced what is called the **IRON PERIOD**. Each of those periods must have been of great length—*how great* there are not as yet sufficient materials for determining.*

In the earliest ages burial was practised by depositing the body in a *cist*, or coffin, made of detached slabs of unhewn stone. Cists were of two kinds—the full-sized, and the short cist. In the latter the body was placed in a sitting posture, with the knees drawn up to the breast. The weapons placed beside the deceased were arrowheads, knives, celts or battle-axes, hatchets, and wedges, all made of flint. A huge mound of earth was then heaped over the body. This is called a *barrow*, which may be described as a gigantic grave-mound. Sometimes an immense *cairn* of stones was raised over the cist. A third form of sepulchre was the *cromlech*, consisting of a large table or block of stone resting on three or four unhewn columns, within which the body was deposited. The *cromlech*, like the cist, had sometimes a barrow raised over it, and both were occasionally surrounded with those circles of “standing stones” which are commonly called Druidical temples, though only some of them appear to have been used in connection with religious

* See Wilson's Pre-historic Annals of Scotland.

rites. Such monuments were, apparently, reserved for persons of distinction.

At a later period, and probably contemporaneous with the introduction of bronze, was commenced the practice of burning the bodies of the dead, though not to the exclusion of former methods of interment. The ashes were now deposited in the cist, after having been collected into an urn made of stone or clay. During this period the huge barrows, cairns, and cromlechs were generally abandoned. The weapons were now chiefly of bronze, though flint was still used; and the warrior's sword was broken and laid beside him in his grave.

When the use of iron was subsequently introduced—perhaps by the Celtic race, whose smiths were famous in ancient times—bronze weapons gave place to those made of that material. From its liability to waste by rust, fewer implements of iron are found than of bronze. Along with the body of the dead chief were now buried his horses, harness, and dogs, with many ornaments of the precious metals, which have been found in considerable quantities.

All over the country there are numerous remains of places of defence belonging to those remote ages. The ancient British forts were generally erected on the summits of hills; many of them consisting merely of small circular mounds of earth and loose stones, within and around which flint arrows and other weapons have been found.

That the people, some of whose customs we have thus briefly described, whether belonging to the Celtic or to earlier races, inhabited this district of Fife, is evident from the numerous memorials of them which have been found. Thus, at East Flisk and Belhelvie, at Starr and Drumnod in Kilmany parish, at several places in the parish of Forgan, at Parbroath and Balmeadowside in the parish of Creich, and at Creich Manse, there have been dug up, at various times, cists, urns, and calcined bones—some of them having been

inclosed within cairns and tumuli.* In the last named parish there were found in 1816 small circles of standing stones at two different spots, which are supposed to have marked the tombs of distinguished chiefs. One of these monuments was, for better preservation, carefully removed by the Rev. Alexander Lawson to a spot behind his manse, where it may still be seen with the stones replaced in their original relative positions. It consists of two concentric circles, with a cylindrical stone in the centre. The outer circle contains thirty-two, and the inner sixteen stones about a foot and a half in height; those occupying the cardinal points being larger than the others. Within the circles there is a flag of freestone having rude carvings on it, under which human bones were found. The whole may be found described in Mr Lawson's Statistical Account of the Parish of Creich, and figured in the Edinburgh Magazine of December 1817. On the Greencraig, in the same parish, are two concentric circles of loose stones, one at the summit, and the other at some distance below, the remains of an ancient fort. An extensive fort may be traced around the summit of Norman's Law. In the highest part of Drumnod Wood, in Kilmany parish, are three circles of standing stones of no great height, adjacent to each other. One of them, which is tolerably complete, is about forty feet in diameter. Last year there were found at Newport nine urns arranged in a large circle, and presenting the "zig-zag and herring-bone ornament" round their upper part. They were embedded in a mass of charred wood—no doubt the remains of the fires with which the dead bodies were reduced to ashes.

In the parish of Balmerino there were, up to a recent period, several of those monuments of antiquity, though most of them have disappeared in the course of agricultural improvements. On the summit of the Greenhill, near Cultra, there are still visible what appear to be the remains either

* See the New Statistical Account of those parishes.

of a small fort or of a cairn, which is said to have been once larger than at present. It is a circular mound of stones, about fifty feet in diameter, the outer ring being composed, in part, of large stones set on edge. A similar mound is said to have existed on the top of Airdie Hill, on the farm of Grange, before the ground was ploughed up. Between Birkhill House and the Tay urns made of clay were found a few years ago. On Gallowhill, near the eastern boundary of the Parish, there were several cairns which, when cleared away, were found to contain urns, none of which, unfortunately, could be preserved. Some other cairns and grave-mounds, which are probably to be referred to a much more recent period, shall be noticed in a following chapter.

CHAPTER II.

CELTIC PERIOD.

"Peace to their shades! the pure Culdees
Were Albyn's earliest priests of God,
Ere yet an island of the seas
By foot of Saxon monk was trod."

CAMPBELL.

It is in the works of Cæsar, Tacitus, and other Roman authors that the *written* history of our country begins. Julius Cæsar invaded the southern shores of England in the year 55 a.c., but he knew nothing of Scotland. It was not till the year 81 of the Christian era that the Romans under Agricola penetrated into the northern division of the island. The campaigns of this general are described and embellished by his son-in-law Tacitus in a most interesting memoir of

his life. About that period Scotland appears to have been inhabited by twenty-one Celtic tribes, of whom sixteen, who were called Caledonians, possessed the districts north of the Forth and Clyde.* The tribe who peopled Fife was the Horestii. In the year 83 Agricola, having crossed the Forth at Queensferry, attacked and vanquished this tribe at Loch Orr. He then proceeded to reduce Fife, and subsequently enrolled a large body of the conquered natives as his auxiliaries—a plan resembling that pursued by the British in India. It appears probable that the Romans occupied our district of Fife. At Craigiehill, in the parish of Leuchars, there was laid bare in 1808 an earthen jar containing nearly a hundred Roman coins of the reigns of Severus, Antoninus, and others.† Near the village of Balmerino a silver coin of the reign of Tiberius was found in a good state of preservation about forty years ago.‡

The religion of the Celtic tribes was the same as that of the ancient Gauls, to whom they were allied in race. Their priests were called Druids, from a Celtic word signifying *a sage*. They taught the existence of one God,§ whom they named Bel or Be'al, a word apparently akin to the Phœnician Baal. It is believed that they did not bow down to idols. No "graven image," worshipped by them, has ever been found in our island. They believed in the immortality of the soul so firmly, that it is said they gave each other loans of money, to be repaid when they should reach the Island of the Brave—their so-called heaven. They held the oak and mistletoe in great reverence; and their temples were merely groves of oak trees, within which were erected circles

* See Chalmers's *Caledonia*, i. 62, &c. The term *Caledonia* is differently applied by different authors.

† New Statistical Account of Leuchars.

‡ Small's *Roman Antiquities in Fife*, p. 237.

§ See Alexander's *Iona*, p. 29. Cæsar (*De Bell. Gall. lib. vi. c. 14, 17*), says that they held a plurality of gods.

of "standing-stones," with a large one in the centre, on which, as some assert, they offered their sacrifices. On certain great occasions they filled with living human beings huge images of wickerwork, and then set them on fire to propitiate the Deity.* They had two great annual festivals. One was held on the first of May, which was the beginning of their year, when they kindled a large fire on the top of a hill in honour of the sun, which luminary they regarded as a symbol of the Deity. This festival was called Beltane, or *fire of Bel*, which was till recently in the Lowlands, and still is in the Highlands, the name for Mayday. Their other chief festival was called Samhainn, or *fire of peace*, at which justice was administered, and disputes settled. It was held on what is now called Hallow E'en, which is still called *Samhainn* in the Highlands—a proof how slowly ancient customs yield to change.

About the year 364 the inhabitants of Fife appear under the name of Vecturiones, who, no doubt, were also Celts. Soon afterwards the name of Caledonians disappears from history, and the people are called Picts. Fife formed the most important portion of the Southern Pictish Kingdom, of which Forteviot first, and afterwards Abernethy was the capital, till the year 843, when the Pictish rule gave place to that of the Scots, and the name of Picts fell into disuse.

In the year 685, the Saxons of Northumbria, whose kingdom extended to the Forth, fought a battle with the Picts at a place called Dunnechtan, when Bridei, the Pictish King, slew Egfrid, King of the Saxons, and thus preserved to the Picts the dominion of Fife. Mr Leighton thinks that the scene of the battle was Naughton, in Balmerino parish ; † but Chalmers, the learned author of "Caledonia," and the best authorities, with more probability identify it with

* Cæsar, De Bell. Gall. vi. 16.

† Swan and Leighton's Fife Illustrated. Art. Balmerino.

Dunnichen in Angus, which is believed to be a corruption of Dun-Nechtan, *the fortress of Nechtan*.*

At what period the inhabitants of this district first received the Christian faith it is impossible to determine with certainty. We know, however, that their primitive clergy were the Culdees, a word derived either from a Celtic term *cealdeach* meaning a *recluse, or monk*, or from *Gille De*, which signifies *servants of God*. The conversion of the Pictish people of Fife, and the origin of their Culdee clergy, are by some of our old historians traced to St. Regulus, or St. Rule, and by others to St. Columba.

According to the well known legend,† Regulus, bishop of Patrae, in Achaia, in the fourth century, having in his custody the bones of St. Andrew the apostle, was directed by an angel to sail with these relics to the west, and wherever his vessel should land, to build a church in honour of St. Andrew. He accordingly sailed westwards through the Mediterranean, and having reached the German ocean, he and his companions were wrecked in the country of the Picts at a place called Muckcross, afterwards Kilrymont, and now St. Andrews; but they succeeded in saving the precious relics. They afterwards travelled through the Pictish territory, and founded churches at various places. The first place they visited was Forteviot. Thence they went to "Monechatu, which is now called Monichi," and from that to "Doldancha, which is now called Chondrochedalvan," situated beyond the "Moneth," an ancient name of the Grampians. Returning to Kilrymont, they dedicated a church there to St. Andrew, to which King Hungus, at the

* Nevertheless Naughton may have derived its name from Nechtan (see Appendix No. xxii).

† See Jamieson's History of the Culdees, *Appendix*; and Pinkerton's Inquiry, *Appendix*; which give extracts from the Old Register of St. Andrews, now lost. The Register of the Priory printed for the Bannatyne Club is a different record.

same time, gave a large territory as its "parish." This district is described as including "all the lands lying betwixt the sea called Ishundenema and the sea called Sletheuma, and in the adjacent province, bounded by a line drawn from Largo to Ceres, and thence to Hyatnachten Machchirb, which is now called Hadnachten. [Naughton]." Such is the legendary origin of St. Andrews, and of the Culdees of Fife.

The editor of Sibbald's History of Fife interprets that author as asserting that one of the churches said to have been founded by Regulus was at Naughton, which he identifies with the place called Doldancha or Chondrochedalvan; and from this source has been derived the statement contained in several recent works that there was anciently an establishment of Culdees at Naughton. But Dr. Adamson is here in error, having been misled by Sibbald's careless style and punctuation.* It does not appear that Sibbald ever intended to identify Chondrochedalvan with Naughton; and if he did so, the extracts which he quotes from the Old Register of St. Andrews would not substantiate their identity. It is plain that Chondrochedalvan was somewhere north of the Grampians. Mr Skene supposes it to have been Kindrochet in the Brae of Mar, which was dedicated to St. Andrew.†

As to the value of the legend itself, that part of it which narrates the bringing of the relics of St. Andrew to Scotland is apparently fabulous. But from the circumstantial manner in which the latter part of the legend is told, it is difficult to avoid the conviction that it rests on a basis of facts. The

* The error was occasioned by a comma being placed instead of a semi-colon after the word Chondrochedalvan. The passage occurs at p. 36 of Adamson's Edition. The same error exists in the original edition.

† See Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. iv. pp. 308-321, which contain a very full and able discussion of this subject.

lists of the Pictish kings—whatever value is to be attached to them—contain no such name as that of Hungus in the fourth century. But there is a Hungus who reigns from 820 to 834; and it was in all probability he who founded St. Andrews (where there certainly was a Culdee establishment in the ninth century), attached the above mentioned district to it, and adopted St. Andrew as the patron saint of Scotland.* We may therefore reasonably conclude that Naughton was known by a name of which its present one is an abbreviation as early as the middle of the ninth century; and that, though not then the site of a church, it was included in the district placed under the care of the Culdee clergy of St. Andrews. This is the first mention made of it in any writing, and it thus comes into notice *by name* at an earlier period than any other place in this district.

The origin of the Culdees, who were undoubtedly settled in Fife long before the ninth century, is more probably to be traced to the celebrated Columba and his followers, whose missionary labours, from near the end of the sixth century onwards, are well known. His clergy lived in monasteries, generally to the number of twelve in one place, besides the abbot; but they practised neither the austerities nor the vices of Romish monasticism. They were not bound to celibacy, and were wholly independent of, and differed in many respects from, the Church of Rome. Their monasteries may be described as missionary colleges, and they had large grants of land made to them. But their practice of transmitting the office of the ministry by hereditary succession, and other causes, eventually led to their degeneracy, and to their being supplanted by the Romish monks and clergy.

Whatever was the origin of the Culdees—for the name seems to have been applied to the early Christian teachers of Scotland generally—it is certain that they had an establishment at Abernethy more than two centuries earlier than that

* Regulus probably lived in the ninth century.

at St. Andrews is *known* to have existed; that is, towards the end of the sixth century.* It is a curious fact, however, that our knowledge of the state of Christianity in Scotland before the seventh century is much greater than during the four or five centuries following, which were ages of darkness and confusion. During that long period Scottish church history presents almost a complete blank, so that we are unable to follow out the progress of Culdee evangelization. But it shall be shown in the sequel that about the end of the twelfth century the lands forming the original parish of Balmerino probably belonged to the Culdees of Abernethy. At what period this connection of Balmerino with Abernethy began we know not, and it would be vain to form decided opinions as to the events of a period of six centuries of which so little is known. Yet it seems not an improbable supposition that our Parish may have been Christianized by the Culdees of Abernethy long before Naughton was placed under those of St. Andrews. We may at least conclude that it was from one or other of those venerable Christian establishments that the light of the gospel first penetrated into this district, and that the period was not later than the ninth century.

Near the end of the tenth century the Danes, who harassed Scotland by repeated incursions on its coasts, appeared with a numerous fleet in the Tay; but after a fierce battle, with heavy loss on both sides, were defeated near Luncarty. Tradition asserts that during their retreat they were several times attacked by Kenneth III. on the south bank of the Tay, and, amongst other places, on an eminence west of the village of Gauldry, still called Battle Law, and compelled to take refuge in their ships. In confirmation of the tradition, cairns existed till recently on this field, which, when cleared

* The seats of the Culdees are often indicated by the word Kil, or cell, as Kilmany, Kilconquhar. Whether the derivation of Kilburns in Balmerino parish is to be thus explained there are no means of ascertaining.

away, were found to contain human bones. At the east end of Gauldry there were also several mounds called the "Graves," in which, when opened, were discovered "stone coffins" or cists, human bones, and broken swords. On the farm of Peasehills, about a mile and a half north-east of the Battle Law, and in the line of retreat which the Danes would probably pursue, two ornaments of pure gold, valued at about £14 sterling, were found, the one in 1818, and the other in 1826. One of them was a ball, which appeared to have formed the knob on the hilt of a sword; and the other, which is in the possession of Mrs. Morison of Naughton, is a hollow cylinder of a curved form, tapering towards each end, and having a rod of copper running through it, and three rows of raised reticulated work from one end to the other on the outer side of the curve. It probably formed an ornament on the helmet of some chief who had fallen in the retreat.* Cairns or mounds at the same place were found to contain several human skulls, each being enclosed in a square cist formed by four stones.

Other antiquities, commonly assigned to the period of those Danish inroads, exist in the neighbourhood. Near the western side of the St Fort woods, in Forgan parish, there is an ancient camp still in excellent preservation. It is of an oval shape, and surrounded by two, and in some places by three, trenches. On the northern side it is further defended by a steep bank, with a small sheet of water at its base; and on the south by a gentler declivity across the Leuchars road. There are entrance-ways at both the east and west ends. Its traditional name is the "Danes' Camp."† To the same

* Swan and Leighton's Fife Illustrated. New Stat. Ac. of Balmerino.

† About fifty years ago a family named Henderson, claiming to be descended from a Dane, who, being wounded in one of those incursions, remained behind when the Danes retreated, left the parish of Forgan, where they asserted their ancestors had lived for eight hundred years. It was said that the family, wherever they removed,

period are commonly assigned the forts on Norman's Law, and on the chain of heights running eastward from it, as well as several of the other prehistoric memorials which have been mentioned in a previous section. Some of them may, however, be of vastly older data. This opinion is much strengthened by the fact that the ancient British name of Norman's Law, now fallen into disuse, was Dunmore, meaning the "great stronghold, or fortress," and pointing to a period probably long anterior to that of the Danish inroads. Popular explanation, seeking to account for things by the easiest method, frequently assigns such antiquities to some event well known in history, with which they have, in many cases, been proved to have no connection. This remark holds true especially of sepulchral memorials, which are generally referred either to the Roman or Danish periods, as if there had been no battles or deaths in this country till the Romans or Danes landed on its shores. Most of the ancient forts, also, are more probably of British than of Danish origin, and older than the time of the Danish invasions. The native tribes had internal, as well as foreign foes to resist; and it may be presumed that those who occupied the country for so many ages would leave more numerous traces of their presence than would mark the hasty incursions of strangers from beyond the seas.

always carried the same headstone of their doorway with them. This heirloom has disappeared. The late Rev. Mr. Blair of Ferryport-on-Craig had in his possession a sword which was said to have been handed down by the above mentioned family as that of their Danish ancestor.

CHAPTER III.

CHANGE FROM THE GAELIC TO THE
ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

“Mark! how all things swerve
From their known course, or vanish like a dream:
Another language spreads from coast to coast:
Only perchance some melancholy Stream
And some indignant Hills old names preserve,
When laws, and creeds, and people all are lost!”

WORDSWORTH.

TILL near the end of the eleventh century the predominant people of Scotland, according to the high authority of Tytler, were a Celtic race; the laws were Celtic; the government Celtic; the usages and manners Celtic; the Church Celtic; the language Celtic. When the Scottish clergy assembled in a Council at St Andrews in 1074, under Malcolm Canmore and Margaret his queen, who was an English princess, they could not understand the language of her majesty, who was the chief speaker; and the king, who, having been educated at the English court, understood both languages, had to act as interpreter. All the oldest names of places in this district, such as Balmurinach, Balindard, Balindean, Ardint, are Gaelic words; and the same is true of every part of the Lowlands, no less than of the Highlands of Scotland. But about the beginning of the thirteenth century the language of this parish and district was Saxon or English. Thus in the Abbey Chartulary we find, in documents of that period, such words as Swansmire, Aldan's Well, Bridie's Well, Langside, Scongate, which are English, as, of course, are all the still more recent names of places in the district. How did a change so remarkable come about?

The explanation seems to be that the new language was introduced by foreigners, chiefly from the south, who, about the beginning of the twelfth century, began to pour into the Lowlands of Scotland, and especially into Fife. These were mostly Saxons, but included also Normans and Flemings, who, from various causes, were induced to settle in this country. Many of the strangers were of the rank of barons, who received grants of land from the crown, and brought their retainers with them. Some assert that the Celtic population were by these crowds of new settlers pushed northwards into the Highlands, where their language is still retained; but this may be doubted. It is more probable that the change of language was brought about by a process similar to, though more rapid than that which is in our own day introducing the English language into every district of the Highlands, and which is destined at no distant date to cause Gaelic to disappear. The town population were mostly of southern origin, and their language would gradually spread into the country districts, in which also many Saxons had settled.*

This explanation, however, involves the theory that the ancient Pictish population of this district was a Celtic one, and that when the kingdom of the Scots, who were certainly Celts, was united with that of the Picts in the ninth century, the language and descent of the two peoples were so little different that they readily amalgamated. But some will have it that the Picts were a Gothic or Scandinavian race, akin to the Saxons who invaded England and the Lothians: that they settled in Scotland at a very early period, perhaps even before the Saxon invasion of the sister country: and that thus languages substantially identical grew up in both divisions of the island simultaneously. Our plan and

* See Robertson's *Scotland under her Early Kings*, vol. II. Appendix R.

limits will not permit us to discuss this vexed question, Who were the Picts? The subject has long been a battle-field for antiquaries; and, as Tytler remarks, as much ink has been shed by the contending partizans as there was blood by the Romans. "There are some topics (says Mr Hill Burton) which the temper and reason of the human race seem not to have been made strong enough to encounter, so invariably do these break down when the topics in question are started. Of such is the question, To which of the great classes of European languages did that of the people called Picts belong? The contest, like a duel with revolvers over a table, has been rendered more awful by the narrowness of the field of battle, since some time ago the world just possessed one word, or piece of a word, said to be Pictish, and now one of the most accomplished antiquarians of our day has added another."† The opinion of the most competent judges is now, however, running strongly in favour of the Celtic character of the Picts, which theory, on the whole, does seem best to accord with the facts of the case.

* The Scot Abroad, vol. I. p. 4.

CHAPTER IV.

ANCIENT ESTATE, CHAPEL, AND CASTLE OF
NAUGHTON.

"Blest is this Isle—our native Land;
Where battlement and moated gate
Are objects only for the hand
Of hoary Time to decorate."

WORDSWORTH.

ABOUT the beginning of the twelfth century the history of Scotland emerges from the obscurity of the preceding ages, and that of this Parish and district soon thereafter shares in the illumination. There are various facts which show that about the period referred to a new era has commenced. Besides the arrival of a foreign race (which has, not inappropriately, been called the Saxon Conquest, though it was achieved by peaceful means), writing is now becoming common (though still practised only by Churchmen), and land is held by written tenures.* The people are all professedly Christian, and the now effete Culdee establishments are everywhere giving place to the Romish system. From this period the Records of the various monasteries and bishoprics furnish many interesting materials for parochial history, which have not yet been turned to sufficient account by our local historians. From the Register of the Priory of St. Andrews and the Chartulary of Balmerino Abbey we obtain authentic notices of this Parish, by means of which we are able to understand the more general features of its civil and ecclesiastical state, and to make out a tolerably complete list of its landholders. These notices commence about the middle of the twelfth century.

* See Innes' Sketches of Early Scotch History, p. 9.

In relating the facts we have gleaned we begin with those relating to NAUGHTON, which is earliest mentioned. And here the subject of Parishes first presents itself.

It is somewhat uncertain at what period Parishes began to be formed in Scotland, but there is no doubt that they were generally known in the twelfth century. Till that time the ecclesiastical system of Scotland was monastic, not parochial; and the Culdee clergy lived together in humble colleges scattered over the country. The origin of parishes, tithes, and patronage was generally this—a landlord built a church for the people living on his estate (its site being often, as at Creich, close to his residence), endowed it with the tithes of his land, and nominated a priest to be its pastor, under the sanction of the bishop of the diocese. He and his successors thus became patrons of the church, and his lands constituted the Parish. This accounts for the irregular shape and fragmentary character of many parishes at the present day. The Norman and Saxon settlers from the south were the great promoters of church building and endowment.

The estate of Naughton, as appears from the St. Andrew's Priory Register, was anciently very extensive, and constituted a "parish" of the same name, whose church was how-

* The tithes of the produce of the soil, being given away in perpetuity, formed, of course, no part of the inheritance of the donor's heir or successor, but constituted ever afterwards a distinct property set apart to sacred uses. Therefore the stipends of the clergy, being paid out of those tithes, are not now a "burden" on the proprietors of the soil. It is also to be observed that the Church was not originally endowed by the State, but by the voluntary liberality of her members. The State but protected the Church in the possession of property given to her, just as it now protects any Voluntary Church in the possession of such property. Many endowments are at the present day being conferred by pious individuals both on our Established and Voluntary Churches. It is to be hoped that a generation will never arise that shall desire the State to appropriate these endowments to its own use.

ever called, perhaps from its situation, that of Forgrund, now Forgan.* Even down to the sixteenth century the barony of Naughton comprehended the superiority of a great part of the parish of Forgan, in which it was still included. In the twelfth century it was in the possession of a family, apparently Norman, of the name of De Lascels, several members of which were benefactors of the Priory of St. Andrews. Alan, son of Walter de Lascels, grants to the Priory "two acres of his arable land in the parish of Naughton,† viz., those two which are near to the 'vill' of Culbakin [Cowbake] extending northwards from the road which leads from Alan's own vill to Culbakin; with one acre of meadow land measured westwards from Culbakin, between the said two acres and the land of Malcrether belonging to the canons of the said Priory."

The church of Forgan with its revenues (according to the system then practised of increasing the revenues of bishoprics and monasteries by granting to them the tithes of parochial churches), was first conferred on St. Andrews Priory by King David I. (1124-1153) no doubt on the usual condition that the Priory should supply it with a vicar. The gift was confirmed by Malcolm IV. (1153-1165), who also bestowed on the Priory a carucate (104 acres) of land in Naughton estate, called Melchrethre, mentioned above. This latter grant was confirmed by William the Lion and Alexander II., and by bishops Richard, Hugo, and Roger of St. Andrews, between 1163 and 1202.

Both of these grants are also said in the same Register to have been made by Alan de Lascels, son of Alan already mentioned. Thus between 1188 and 1202, Alan, son of

* Forgan is never called in the St. Andrew's Register by the name of St. Phillan's, which seems to have been conferred subsequently, when it became the practice to dedicate churches to Popish saints.

† For the original spelling of Naughton, as variously given in these charters, see appendix No. xx.

Alan de Lascels and of his wife Juliana de Summerville, with consent of his own wife Amabilla, gives and confirms to the Priory "the mother church of his estate of Naughton, viz., the church of Forgrund, with the chapel of Naughton adjacent to the said church." Bishop Malvoisine of St Andrews (1202-1238) grants and confirms to the Priory "the mother church of Naughton, with all its just pertinents, which Alan de Lascels granted to it, as his charter shows." There is further recorded in the Priory Register the testimony of Laurence, Archdeacon of St Andrews, that he had heard from trustworthy men that the church of Naughton had been formerly conferred on the Priory by a noble man, Alan de Lascels, its true patron, and that he knows that this gift was confirmed by Bishop Malvoisine. In charters of Peter Hay and others (to be afterwards noticed) it is repeatedly stated that the carucate of land, which had belonged to Forgan church, was conferred on the Priory by Alan, son of Alan de Lascels. It is not easy to reconcile those statements with the original grants by David I. and Malcolm IV. The explanation probably is, that the estate of Naughton belonged, in the former monarch's reign, to the crown (whether by forfeiture or other cause); that King David then bestowed its church and tithes, and Malcolm IV. afterwards the carucate of land, on the Priory; and that subsequently the King (perhaps William the Lion) gave a grant of the estate to a family of Norman settlers (the Lascels), who then confirmed, or repeated, the former gifts to the Priory of church, tithes, and land.*

We have a notice of two of the incumbents of the church about the same time. Bishop Malvoisine admits, on a pre-

* Tytler (Hist. of Scotland, chap vi.) says that David I. conferred on the monks of Scone the tenth of the *can* of his cheese brought in from his manors of Gowrie, Scone, Cupar [Angus], and Forgrund. But whether the last of these places was Forgan in Fife, or Longforgran (also anciently called Forgrund), does not appear.

sensation by the Prior and canons, Richard Thouni to the parsonage (*sic*) of the church of Forgrund, who shall hold it, with the chapel of Naughton, its land, tithes, &c. ; reserving the life-interest of Gervasius de Nealfa, the vicar, who shall receive from Richard twenty silver merks annually in name of pension.

When or by whom this chapel of Naughton was built, we know not. In the *Taxatio Antiqua*, or Old Valuation of the church livings of the diocese of St Andrews, inserted in the Priory Register and others, and believed to represent a period as remote as the reign of King William, Naughton chapel is not mentioned, though Forgan church is.* If Sibbald be correct in fixing 1176 as the year to which the Valuation refers, we might conclude that the chapel was built between 1176 and 1202, at which latter date it certainly was in existence. We are equally ignorant of the site of this chapel. The expression "adjacent (*adjacentem*) the church of Forgan" might suggest the inference that it was in the immediate vicinity of that church, if not part of the same building ; and from the boundaries of Alan de Lascels' grant of two acres, it might almost appear that his own "vill" † and manor-house were near Cowbakie, and not where Naughton House now stands. But the language used is by no means decisive of either of these conjectures. There was anciently a chapel, called St Thomas's of Seamylnes, at Newport, but there is nothing to identify it with the "chapel of Naughton," though it would appear to have been within the barony of that name. It is more natural to suppose that Naughton chapel was near the western extre-

* Forgrund church is there valued at 70 merks, of which 15 for the vicar ; Kilmanyn at 50 ; Logiemurthak at 20 ; Flisk, with its chapel, at 26 ; Creich, with its chapel, at 12 merks. It is reckoned that a merk would then purchase 14 bolls of oatmeal.

† The *vill* was the cluster of cottages in which the serfs, or villeins (villagers), who cultivated their lord's lands, lived, near his residence.

mity of the estate, and intended for the use of the people residing in that remote part of Forgan parish ; and that Naughton, though scarcely to be recognized in some of the forms in which it was then written, denoted the place still called by that name.

The "Grange of Naughton" is also mentioned as belonging to the Priory of St Andrews, and is specified in Bulls of confirmation of the Priory lands by no fewer than five Popes between the year 1187 and 1254. Perhaps it comprehended the lands of Peasehills, Byrehills, and Cathills, which, according to Martine,* anciently belonged to the Priory, though there is no mention of them by these names in the existing Register. This "Grange" must not be confounded with the present Grange, or New Grange, which belonged to Balmerino Abbey.

According to Sibbald,† Robertus de Lundon built a tower on Naughton rock, which, from the difficulty of access to it on all sides, was admirably adapted for a stronghold in those turbulent times. When or how he got possession of the place does not appear: perhaps it was given by King William, when the estate of Naughton was conferred on the De Lascels. He was a natural son of that monarch, and marrying the heiress of Lundin, near Largo, assumed that name, and carried on the line of the family of Lundin or Lundie, which is now represented by Lord Willoughby de Eresby, through his late mother, Lady Clementina Sarah Drummond. (For continuation of the history of Naughton see Part IV. Chapter I.)

* *Reliquiae Divi Andreae.*

† *History of Fife.*

CHAPTER V.

ANCIENT PROPRIETORS AND CHURCH OF
BALMERINO.

"In the antique age of bow and spear,
And feudal rapine clothed with iron mail,
Came ministers of peace, intent to rear
The Mother Church in yon sequestered vale."

WORDSWORTH.

THE first *undoubted* proprietor of BALMERINO whose name we meet with is mentioned in the Abbey Chartulary as living in the time of William the Lion (1164-1214). Henry de Reuel received from that monarch a grant of Cultrach, with the customary feudal privileges and duty attached to it. Though Cultrach is alone mentioned in the grant, the barony of that name seems to have included the lands of Balmerino, Balindard, Balindean, and Corbie, since the last three of those places are described in the Foundation Charter of the Abbey as "pertinents" of Cultra and Balmerino; while in a charter obtained by Richard Reuel, Balmerino and Balindard are stated to have been held by Henry Reuel along with Cultra.

This Henry de Reuel married Margaret, daughter of Orm, who was the son of Hugh of Abernethy, with whom he got "a ten merk land of old extent, a mark being then a third of a pound weight of silver."* As we find Laurence, son of this Orm, afterwards resigning to Balmerino Abbey whatever interest he and his heirs had in the lands of Cultra, Balindean,

* Douglas's Peerage.

Balindard, Corbie, and Balmerino* (which Henry Reuel's heir had sold to Queen Ermengarde towards the foundation of the Abbey), we may conclude that it was these lands which came to Henry Reuel as his wife's dowry, and that the crown charter which he had obtained was merely a charter of confirmation. It thus appears that nearly all the lands forming the original parish of Balmerino were anciently included in the great lordship or territory of Abernethy. But this Laurence was Abbot of Abernethy, and seems to have held these lands as head of the Culdees there. He lived as a baron at Kerpul (Carpow), the old castle or mansion of the lords of Abernethy, leaving his duties as abbot to be performed by one of the Culdees called the Prior, and like later abbots and bishops, appropriating to himself the greater part of the church lands.† The Balmerino Chartulary shows that he was frequently at court. Mr. Innes considers that the ancient Culdee house of Abernethy survived King David's church reform, and was still in existence; having in Laurence its hereditary abbot, who styled himself, and acted as, lord of the abbey territory. In the Arbroath Register Laurence appears as granting tithes; and in the Balmerino Chartulary as giving away lands; in both cases asserting the subject of gift to be the inheritance of him and his heirs.‡ All this suggests the inference that the above mentioned lands in Balmerino parish were part of the ancient endowments of the Culdees of Abernethy. The family of Laurence assumed the local designation of Abernethy as their surname.

Henry de Reuel and Margaret his spouse granted to the Priory of St. Andrews fifteen acres of land which are described as lying "north of Cultra, and west of the road leading from Balmerino to Cultra, as perambulated by the said

* Balmerino Chartulary, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 7.

† See Miller's Arbroath and its Abbey, p. 33; and Quarterly Review, vol. lxxxv., p. 118.

‡ Innes' Sketches, &c., p. 150.

Henry, Richard Reuel his nephew, Matthew the canon, and his 'good men;' and also the common pasture pertaining to that extent of land."* Amongst the witnesses to the charter are Ralph the chaplain (perhaps the incumbent of Balmerino Church), Josius (or Jocelinus) de Balindard, and Adam de Ardist; who are, in all probability, the "good men" (*probi homines*) who joined in the perambulation.† Adam de Stawel, brother of Richard Reuel, afterwards confirms the grant.

This Richard Reuel, Henry's nephew, sometime after 1214, obtained from Alexander II. a charter of confirmation of his uncle's lands (Cultra, Balmerino, and Balindard being alone specified), with similar privileges and duty as before. He had also received previously from King William a grant of Easter Ardint, which was now likewise confirmed to him. If this was the same place as "Ardist" (now Airdie?), Adam de Ardist was probably Richard Reuel's predecessor in that property.‡

The duty attached to Henry Reuel's grant was that he should render to the king half the service of a knight (land being then held by military tenure); and this was increased in Richard Reuel's case to the whole service of one knight. Along with their lands they acquired the usual baronial rights of *sac and soc, tol and tehm, infangenethef, and pit and gal-lows*. These feudal terms signify the right of holding courts, deciding pleas, imposing fines, taking tolls upon the sale of goods, and punishing capitally the thief caught with the stolen property, or the homicide taken "red-hand," within the limits of the manor. The men were executed on gibbets, and the women were drowned in draw-wells, which all barons were ordained to make for these purposes. Every freeholder

* St. Andrews Priory Register (Bannatyne Club Ed.)

† The *probi homines* were the small proprietors and those of similar rank.

‡ Balmerino Chartulary, No. 8. There is, however, an Ardit in Leuchars parish.

entitled to hold a court was then to a great extent a petty sovereign within his own estate. The "Gallowstone" on the top of Cultra Hill* marks, no doubt, the place of execution for those condemned to death in the court of the proprietor of Cultra or Balmerino, and in that of the Abbot's Bailie of later times; while "Gallowhill" must have been the place of doom for the barony of Naughton.

Another baronial privilege was the right of holding in bondage persons called *nativi* or *velleins*, with their children; a great portion of the rural population being still in a state of serfdom to the lords of the soil, and liable to be transferred, by sale or gift, along with the lands which they cultivated. Velleinage died out about the fourteenth century.

Sometime before 1225 Adam de Stawel, brother of Richard Reuel, succeeded to his lands above mentioned. From this Adam's charter of resignation of these lands to Queen Ermengarde in 1225 we obtain the first notice of "the Church of Balmerino," of which he was patron. We may presume that his predecessors also enjoyed the right of patronage, and that his lands constituted the Parish. This church is not mentioned in the old valuation already referred to in connection with Naughton Chapel. In the Foundation Charter of the Abbey it is called the "Mother Church of Balmerino," which mode of expression is usually employed in contrast to that of "chapel." But there is no mention of a chapel as attached to it in any of the records of that period.

From a charter in the Arbroath Abbey Register, by which Laurence of Abernethy grants to that house, in the reign of King William, the whole tithes of the territory of Abernethy except those belonging to the churches of Flisk and "Cul-

* Some years ago this stone was greatly injured in an attempt by some persons in the neighbourhood to find treasure under it. It is said to have been previously twice its present size, and to have rested on several smaller blocks of stone; in fact, to have resembled a cromlech. Perhaps its later name disguises its earlier use.

tram," and certain others, it would appear that there was anciently a church at, or at least *of* Cultra, if, as is probable, that is the place signified in the charter.

Since the estate of Cultra seems to have included the lands of Balmerino and others, the "Church of Cultra" and the "Church of Balmerino" may have been one and the same—the *Church of the estate of Cultra*, whether situated there or at Balmerino.* However this may be, the mention of the churches of Flisk and Cultra, as included in the territory of Abernethy, confirms the view previously suggested, that the ancient parish of Balmerino (in which Naughton was not included), and we may now add, that of Flisk, formed part of the endowments of the Culdees of Abernethy, having been in all probability Christianized by them at a very early period.

We have notices of some other proprietors in the Parish about the beginning of the thirteenth century.

Jocelinus de Balindard, who witnesses the grant of land by Henry Reuel to St. Andrews Priory, is also mentioned in the Balmerino Chartulary. The situation of Balindard is now unknown. As it appears also amongst the possessions of the Reuels, it was perhaps as their vassal that Jocelinus held it. There was another property of the same name in the parish of Arbirlot, Forfarshire, and it has been conjectured that it was a descendant of this Jocelinus who conferred upon that estate the name of the Fifeshire property of his ancestor.† John de Balindard died about 1280. His great-grandson, about 1350, exchanged his lands at Arbirlot for those of Carnegie in Carmylie parish, and hence the family name was

* Thus the "mother church of Naughton," or the "church of the estate of Naughton," and "the church of Forgrund," are used in the St. Andrews Priory Register as convertible terms. The site of the ancient church, or churches, of Balmerino and Cultra is now unknown.

† Jervise's *Lands of the Lindsays*, p. 192.

changed to Carnegie of that Ilk. The head of this family now is the Earl of Southesk, who is thus descended from the De Balindards, and, if the above conjecture be correct, Jocelinus is the first of the family of whom we have any genuine notice.

Thomas de Lundin also possessed property somewhere about Balmerino. He bound himself to pay to the Abbey of Cupar (Angus) one silver merk annually "out of his lands of Balmerino." For this he was allowed a place of sepulture at the door of that Abbey, where he was buried in 1231, as was also his more celebrated son Alan in 1275.* This family was connected with the Lundins, near Largo. In the reign of Malcolm IV. (1153-1166) two brothers, Philip and Malcolm de Lundin, received grants of land from the king; the former, the lands of Lundie in Fifeshire; and the latter, those of Lundie in Forfarshire. It was the heiress of Philip's line whom Robertus, natural son of William the Lion, already mentioned in connection with Naughton Castle, married. Thomas de Lundin was the son of Malcolm. He held the office of *Ostiarius*, or *Doorward*, to King William, and also to Alexander II.; and hence his family took the name of Dorward, or Durward, which is still common in this district, though it has now descended to the humbler ranks of the people.

By putting together the various facts we have thus gathered, we get a list nearly, if not quite complete, of the landholders of the Parish (as at present bounded) between six and seven hundred years ago—that is, in the latter half of the twelfth, and the earlier portion of the thirteenth century. We shall here present them in one view:—

Orm, son of Hugh of Abernethy, appears to have pos-

* Jervise's *Lands of the Lindsays*, p. 193; and his *Memorials of Angus and Mearns*, p. 402. Chalmers' *Caledonia*, vol. i., p. 534.

sessed, as the Culdee Abbot of that place, Corbie, Cultra, Balindean, Balindard, and Balmerino. These lands pass, in all probability with his daughter Margaret, to Henry de Reuel. His nephew Richard Reuel afterwards succeeds to them, and, besides, acquires Easter Ardint, which was perhaps previously possessed by Adam de Ardist. He is succeeded by his brother Adam de Stawel, who is patron of the "Church of Balmerino," as were also, no doubt, the Reuels before him.

Jocelinus appears to possess, perhaps as Henry Reuel's vassal, Balindard.

Thomas de Lundin, the King's *Doorward*, possesses certain lands about Balmerino.

The estate of Naughton (then in Forgan parish) is held by the De Lascels.

Naughton Castle belongs to Robertus de London, who built it.

St Andrews Priory has the "Grange of Naughton;" Naughton chapel; fifteen acres of arable land, with pasture, lying north of Cultra, and west of the road leading thence to Balmerino; and (the time being, however, in this case uncertain) the lands of Peasehills, Cathills, and Byrehills, if these were not identical with the "Grange of Naughton."

With the exception of the history of the Lairds of Naughton (for which see Part IV., Chap. I.), whatever is known concerning the Parish of Balmerino from near the beginning of the thirteenth century to the Reformation connects itself with the Abbey, in whose possessions the whole of the *original* parish was ultimately included. To the history of the Abbey we now, therefore, proceed.

Part II.

HISTORY OF THE ABBEY.

CHAPTER I.

THE MONASTIC SYSTEM.

“Who with the ploughshare clove the barren moors,
And to green meadows changed the swampy shores?
Thinned the rank woods; and for the cheerful grange
Made room, where wolf and boar were used to range?
Who taught, and showed by deeds, that gentler chains
Should bind the vassal to his lord's domains?—
The thoughtful Monks, intent their God to please,
For Christ's dear sake, by human sympathies.”

WORDSWORTH.

A MONK (*monachos*) is one who seeks solitude, and the meaning of the word indicates the origin of the monastic system. In primitive times Christians were often compelled by persecution to retire into caves and deserts for safety. When the fury of their persecutors was abated, they did not always return to the world, but often preferred to continue in their retreats, spending their time in devotion and labour. But as the church fell away from its primitive purity, men and women began to choose this mode of life without any such necessity; acting on the mistaken idea, that thus escaping the snares and temptations of the world, they could cultivate a purer piety than was otherwise attainable. It was in Egypt that the monastic system began to be extensively adopted by Christians, after the example of the celebrated Antony. At first each recluse lived in his

own solitary retreat—some practising the most severe mortifications; but gradually they began to form communities, and to bind themselves by the most stringent vows. Monachism rapidly increased with the growing degeneracy of the times. It was zealously recommended and adopted by the most respectable names in the church; and all over Christendom there rose up numerous monasteries which competed with each other for popular favour. To become a monk was deemed the height of piety: the next degree of merit was to endow a monastery with property or privileges. The prayers of so many good men assembled in one place were believed to have extraordinary efficacy; and this was the only return asked by their benefactors. Men of rank frequently changed their high position, with all its anxieties and dangers, for the seclusion of the cloistral life, at the same time conferring their patrimony on the Religious House of their adoption.

“Lance, shield, and sword relinquished, at his side
A bead-roll, in his hands a clasped book,
Or staff more harmless than a shepherd’s crook,
The war-worn Chieftain quits the world—to hide
His thin autumnal locks where Monks abide
In cloistered privacy.”*

An individual Monk could call nothing his own, but he enjoyed none the less the good things which were bestowed on the brotherhood as a corporation. The piety or superstition of their admirers conceded to them not only the tithes of churches, but their richest lands, with rights of pasture, fuel, and fishing; and built for them the most stately edifices which the age could produce. Thus they who had “wandered in deserts and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth,” whose food had been the spontaneous

* Wordsworth.

fruit of the soil, or the charity of the serfs among whom they lived, became, as years rolled on, the lords of fair Abbeys, surrounded by fertile domains, commanding every luxury that plain and mountain, wood and river could produce. No wonder that under such circumstances the bonds of discipline became loose, and that the world, whose pleasures they had renounced, gradually re-asserted its sway. There is abundance of evidence to prove that great laxity and corruption eventually found their way into all the monastic Orders, but it is equally certain that the life of the cloister was much superior to that of the laity and secular clergy of the period.

If we judge of the monastic system, especially in its later and worse aspects, (for a distinction must always be made between its *earlier* and *later* developments), by the more correct views of Christian duty which now happily obtain, and by its relation to such a state of society as now exists, we must utterly condemn it ; and to revive monkery at the present day, as some few of the English clergy earnestly desire, would be to counteract the best tendencies of our age, and to retrograde many centuries. The part of a Christian man is not to retire from the world, but, by remaining in it, to leaven society by his good example.

“ We need not bid, for cloistered cell,
Our neighbour and our work farewell,
Nor strive to wind ourselves too high
For sinful man beneath the sky:

The trivial round, the common task,
Would furnish all we ought to ask ;
Room to deny ourselves ; a road
To bring us, dally, nearer God.”

But if we view the monastic system in connection with the ignorance and turbulence which prevailed throughout Europe in what are called the “Dark” and “Middle Ages,”

our verdict will be a more lenient one. Along with many evils which were inseparable from a system so erroneous in principle, we must acknowledge that numerous benefits incidentally flowed from it, ere those new races which had overturned the Roman Empire, and involved Europe in intellectual darkness, acquired letters and civilization. That the system extended itself so widely proves that it supplied to society a want then much felt. In those rude and lawless ages the Monasteries afforded the only available retreat to such as wished to escape from the cruelty of the despotic barons, or to nourish in peace their spiritual life. The Monks were then the greatest benefactors of society. They excelled in agriculture, in gardening, and the cultivation of fruit trees; and were the first to teach those arts to the people, when the lay lord knew only to consume the produce of the soil. Wherever they settled, they cleared the forests, drained the marshes, and converted the barren wilderness into cultivated fields. They were also the first to grant long leases on easy terms to their tenants, who were seldom or never called upon to serve as men-at-arms, at a time when every vassal was obliged to follow his lord into the field. Nor were the possessions of the Monks liable to those sudden changes by forfeiture, death, or sale, which too often proved a source of suffering to the tenants of lay proprietors. In travelling over the country, "your approach to the Monasteries could commonly be traced by the high agricultural improvements which they spread around them. The woods, enclosed and protected, were of loftier growth; the meadows and cornfields richer and better cultivated; the population inhabiting the church lands more active, thriving, and industrious than in the lands belonging to the crown or to the feudal nobility." * As the defenders of the poor against the rich, the enemies of slavery and private feuds, the Monks

* Tytler's History of Scotland, chap. vi.

were loved by the people in a manner we can but faintly realize. Their hospitality to wayfarers, when inns were as yet unknown, and their charity to the poor were alike celebrated: and the needy and unfortunate never told their tale in vain at the convent gate. But the Monasteries performed still higher services. For several ages they were the sanctuaries of letters and religion. In the cloister Learning was diligently cultivated at a time when there is no evidence that any Scottish baron was able to sign his own name. Schools were attached to most monasteries, and these were taught or superintended by the monks. It was the Monks, too, who preserved and handed down to us the knowledge of the ancients. Before the art of printing was invented, they copied out in manuscript whatever books were deemed most worthy of preservation. Every monastery had its library of precious volumes, when libraries existed scarcely anywhere else. It is to the Monks, indeed, we owe, under Providence, the Sacred Scriptures themselves, which, but for their pious care and labour, would have perished in the Dark Ages. In short, but for the Monks (to quote the beautiful words of Mrs Jameson) "the light of liberty, and literature, and science had been for ever extinguished: for six centuries there existed for the thoughtful, the inquiring, the devout spirit, no security, no home but the cloister. There Learning trimmed her lamp; there Contemplation 'pruned her wings;' there the traditions of Art, preserved from age to age by lonely, studious men, kept alive in form and colour the idea of a beauty beyond that of earth,—of a might beyond that of the spear and the shield—of a Divine sympathy with suffering humanity." Their direct dependence on the Pope, too, and the intercourse kept up constantly with Rome, and with the other monasteries of their respective Orders throughout Europe, tended to spread intelligence. The Monks are also our earliest historians. The Chronicles which they kept, in the Latin language, of the most remark-

able events of general and local interest; and their Chartularies and Registers, in which they recorded their endowments, leases of land, and transactions in property, and also the ecclesiastical privileges bestowed on the brotherhood, form now the chief sources of our knowledge of the events of the Middle Ages; and, indeed, are the oldest contemporary records of Scotland which we possess.

CHAPTER II.

THE CISTERCIAN MONKS.

*"Here Man more purely lives, less oft doth fall,
More promptly rises, walks with stricter heed,
More safely rests, dies happier, is freed
Earlier from cleansing fires, and gains withal
A brighter crown." On yon Cistercian wall
That confident assurance may be read;
And, to like shelter, from the world have fled
Increasing multitudes. The potent call
Doubtless shall cheat full oft the heart's desires:
Yet, while the rugged Age on pliant knee
Vows to rapt Fancy humble fealty,
A gentler life spreads round the holy spires;
Where'er they rise, the Sylvan waste retires,
And æry harvests crown the fertile lea."*

WORDSWORTH.

As the Monks of Balmerino were of the Reformed Order

* "Bonum est nos hic esse, quia homo vivit purius, cadit rarius, surgit velocius, incedit cantius, quiescit securius, moritur felicius, purgatur citius, praemiatur copiosius."—*Bernard*. "This sentence (says Dr Whitaker) is usually inscribed in some conspicuous part of the Cistercian houses." (Wordsworth's Note on the above Sonnet).

called the Cistercian, it will be proper, before proceeding farther, to give some account of this brotherhood.*

The Cistercians derived their name from Cîteaux (Cistercium) in France, where the order originated in the year 1098, when Robert, Abbot of Molesme in Burgundy, revived the strict observance of the rule of St Benedict. They rapidly increased in numbers and influence, chiefly through the exertions of the famous St Bernard of Clairvaux. This remarkable man is said to have founded no fewer than a hundred and sixty monasteries. Within a century from its rise the Order possessed eight hundred rich houses in different parts of Europe, and there were ultimately eighteen hundred monasteries dependent on the Abbey of Cîteaux, besides an equal number of nunneries. The first Cistercian monks who settled in England fixed their establishment at Waverley, in Surrey, in the year 1128. The monks of Melrose were the first of the order introduced into Scotland, having been brought thither from the Abbey of Rievall, in Yorkshire. The Cistercian order was divided into thirty provinces, of which Scotland was the twenty-sixth, embracing thirteen monasteries and a considerable number of nunneries.†

Monks of this order were subjected to a very strict discipline. They were obliged to perform their devotions (consisting of prayers, chanting, masses, &c.,) in the chapel, together, seven times every twenty-four hours. 1. The *Nocturnal* was performed at two o'clock in the morning. 2. *Matins* or *Prime* at six o'clock. 3. *Tierce* at nine o'clock. 4. The *Sexte* at twelve o'clock. 5. The *None* at three in the afternoon. When this service was over, those who

*The account of the Cistercians which follows is, in the main, merely a condensation of that given in Morton's *Monastic Annals* of Teviotdale; which is drawn from Manriquez: *Annales Cistercienses*; Hutchison's *History of Durham*, &c.

† Spottiswoode's *History of Religious Houses*. Article "Cistercians" in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 8th Ed.

wished to go out beyond the precincts of the monastery had to kneel before the Superior, kiss the hem of his garment, and ask permission, which was seldom denied. 6. *Vespers* at six in the evening. And 7. the *Compline*, which was said after seven o'clock. As the monks went to bed at eight, they had six hours to sleep before the Nocturnal began. If they betook themselves again to rest after that service, it was not reckoned a fault, but after Matins they were not allowed that liberty. At the tolling of the bell for prayers, they were immediately to leave off whatever business they happened to be engaged in; and even those who copied books, or were employed in any kind of writing, if they had begun a text letter, were not allowed to finish it. They were to fast every day in Lent till six o'clock in the evening. During meals the Scriptures were read to them by one of the brethren, who performed this and certain other weekly offices by turns. After the Compline they were not allowed to talk, but went to bed immediately. They all slept in the same dormitory, which was a long room not divided into separate cells; and each monk had a bed to himself, furnished with a mat, blanket, coverlet, and pillow, which was prescribed to be only a foot and a half long. When any of them went abroad, they were obliged always to go two together, to guard and witness each other's conduct, and to prompt each other to good thoughts. (Hutchison's History of Durham, II. 67.)

The Cistercians in course of time became infected with the abuses which had crept into the previous orders, and at a general chapter held in 1134 new regulations were passed with a view to suppress luxury. But they proved ineffectual, and many of those things which they were prohibited from doing or possessing came at length into acknowledged use. Thus they were forbidden to practise hunting, to possess tithes, the patronage and revenues of churches, dues of milns, bond-servants, or even rents of land—rules which

were subsequently disregarded, as were also many other sumptuary laws extending even to the ornamentation of churches, and the vestments of the ministers. It was directed that their monasteries should be situated in the most retired places. They were to live, moreover, by the labour of their own hands in cultivating the earth, and keeping cattle; and were forbidden to use the labour of others. Yet, upon the pretext of enabling them to live in greater retirement and abstraction from the world, they were allowed to admit into the community a certain number of lay brethren, sometimes called *converts*, whose office consisted in managing the secular business of the convent, including the cultivation of their land, in which they might also be assisted by hired servants. These lay brethren did not take the monastic vows, but in every other respect they were treated exactly like the monks.

The dress of the Cistercians was a white cassock with a narrow scapulary, which was black. Over this they wore a black gown when they went abroad, but a white one when they went to church. They also wore hoods of plain cloth, fustian, or linen. The hood or cowl, like the scapulary, was black. From the prevailing colour of their dress they were called *Monachi Albi*, White Monks; while the other Benedictine orders, whose habit was entirely black, were styled Black Monks.* A shaven crown was the badge of all monks, whereby they signified their firm expectation of a crown of eternal life. All the churches of the Cistercian monasteries were dedicated to God, under the invocation of the Virgin Mary. With her was conjoined, in the case of Balmerino Abbey, the name of St Edward the Confessor.

Their food was to be of the plainest kind. Flesh was

* The Black *Friars* were of the mendicant order of Dominicans. The name *friar* (frater) was generally given to mendicant monks, and was sometimes restricted to those who were not in priest's orders; the latter being called *pater* (father).

allowed only to the sick. Even fish, eggs, milk, butter, and cheese, were not to be used on common days; but were only allowed on particular occasions as *pittances*, or dainties. None but their guests and the sick were allowed any other than brown bread. They might use the common herbs of the country, but pepper and other foreign spices were forbidden. These regulations were eventually much neglected.

The method of admission was somewhat curious. The candidate, who was required to be at least fifteen years of age, having made his petition to be admitted, was, after four days, brought before the Abbot and a select number of the monks in the chapter-house, where he threw himself down with his face to the ground. Being asked by the Abbot what he wanted, he replied, "The mercy of God, and yours." Upon this the Abbot made him stand up, and explained to him the strictness of the rules, and the self-denial required in keeping them; after which, he asked him if he was willing to submit to the restraints they imposed. Upon his replying in the affirmative, the Abbot again admonished him; and when he concluded with these words, "May God finish the good work that he hath begun in thee," all the rest who were present said, *Amen*, and the candidate bowed and retired to the guest-chamber. A similar ceremony was observed when he was again introduced into the chapter-house the next day, after having read the rules of the order. On the third day he was admitted into the cell of the novices, and began the year of his probation; during which he was instructed and prepared for taking the vows by a person called the Master of the Novices, who was usually one of the oldest and most learned of the monks. At the conclusion of the year of his noviciate, when it was considered that he had had a sufficient trial of their discipline and manner of life, he was again formally interrogated, and if he persisted in his request, he was then allowed to make his profession, and become a regular monk of the order, by taking solemn

and irrevocable vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience to his superiors. If he had property, he must give it all away.

Every Cistercian monastery was to consist of at least twelve monks and their Superior, and no convent was permitted to send forth a colony to found a new monastery unless the community consisted of at least sixty monks, and unless license was obtained both from the General Chapter and from the Bishop. The Superior of the new establishment was bound to pay a visit to the parent monastery once a year, and the Abbots of all the Monasteries of the Order were obliged to attend the General Chapter held annually at Citeaux, their chief establishment, except those who were excused on account of their sickness or distance. Abbots in Scotland, Ireland, and Sicily, were obliged to be present only every fourth year. In some cases it was even allowed to send delegates.

The Cistercians were zealous agriculturists. They were also at considerable pains to cultivate and promote learning, notwithstanding the prohibition of classical learning which the original rules of the order embraced. The transcribing of books was one of the principal occupations in all their monasteries. A certain number of the brethren were constantly employed in the Scriptorium, or writing-room, in making copies of the most esteemed works to furnish and augment the common library. They could not, however, write a new book without permission from the general chapter.

Members of the brotherhood were severally set apart to certain offices within the monastery. The *Cellarer* superintended the storehouse, cellar, kitchen, and refectory or eating-room; the *Refectioneer* had charge of the furniture of the table in the refectory; the wardrobe was committed to the *Chamberlain*; the vessels and ornaments of the church to the *Sacrist* or *Secretarius*; the distribution of food and clothing to the poor was entrusted to the *Almoner*; the sick

to the *Infirmarer*; the wayfaring guests to the *Hospitaller*, who entertained them in the hospice, while strangers of rank were entertained by the Abbot. They had also a *Chantor* or *Precentor*, a *Librarian*, a *Treasurer*, a *Porter*, who had a lodging at the gate, and other officials. There was a *Master Builder* in some monasteries; and the monks also engaged in many useful and ornamental crafts to provide for the wants of the convent, besides their agricultural and gardening operations, to which they devoted special attention. The *Master of the Novices* and the lay brethren, or *Converts*, have been already noticed. The *Bailie* was the Abbot's deputy in the exercise of the civil and criminal jurisdiction, corresponding to that of a baron, which belonged to him as the temporal lord of the Abbey lands, and in virtue of which he could in certain cases even repledge a criminal from the Court of the Sheriff, or Clerk of Justiciary. This office was usually delegated to a layman of distinction in the neighbourhood, and, in later times, became almost hereditary in his family. The *Cloistral Prior* was the Abbot's deputy within the monastery, presiding in the choir, chapter-house, and refectory when he did not choose to be present himself, and performing the Abbot's duties during a vacancy.* *Conventual Priors* were those who presided over a party of monks detached from the monastery, and settled in a distant place to take charge of their remote lands or rents. Over all was the *Abbot*, who ruled the monastery with an authority almost despotic. Both he and they were, however, accountable to the general chapter of the Order, whose decisions were, again, subject to review by the Pope. The Abbot had entire jurisdiction over the monks to punish them for crime, or transgression of the rules of the order. He lived

* A Priory was a lesser, or inferior kind of monastery, and was presided over by a Prior. The Prior of St. Andrews, however, took rank before all the Abbots of the kingdom.

in great state in his private apartments, and sometimes in a separate house. He had servants, horses, hawks, and hounds. He had also a chaplain who, besides his spiritual duties, managed his household. The Abbot was chosen by the suffrages of the brotherhood, and in the case of Balmerino, as well as of all the Cistercian monasteries in Scotland, the Abbot of Melrose had a vote in the election. The ceremony of creating an Abbot consisted in clothing him with the *cuculus* or cowl, putting the *crozier* or pastoral staff into his hand, and the shoes called *pedales* on his feet. The Abbots of all Cistercian houses were exempted from the jurisdiction of the bishops of their respective dioceses, and placed in immediate subjection to the Pope. It was the policy of the See of Rome to attach to it the monastic orders by rendering them independent of all other control.

At first monks were simply laymen, and were subject to the bishops and ordinary pastors. They went on Sundays to the parish church with the rest of the people; or, if they were too remote, a priest was sent to them to administer the sacraments, till at length they were allowed to have priests of their own body. This, however, did not take place in Britain till as late as the eleventh century. The Abbot himself was at first usually the priest, but his function extended no farther than to his own monastery, and he remained still in obedience to the bishop. But ultimately the monks were usually in priest's orders,* and the Abbot, besides being, in Cistercian houses, independent of the Bishop, sometimes received from the Pope the privilege of wearing the mitre,† and other episcopal insignia. Hence arose the dis-

* Such were called *regular* clergy, because they followed the monastic rule (*regula*). Those who were not monks were called *secular* clergy.

† The Abbot of Dunfermline obtained this privilege from the Pope in 1244, and the Prior of St Andrews in 1417—(See Bull in Priory Register, No. 412.)

inction between *mitred* and *croziered* Abbots, the latter wearing the crozier only. The bishop, however, could alone confer priest's orders on the monks. Whether the Abbots of Balmerino were permitted to wear the mitre does not appear ; but it is certain that they were Lords of Parliament, and their designations, though not their names, frequently occur in the lists of those who were present, which are prefixed to the public statutes.*

CHAPTER III.

MONASTIC BUILDINGS AND BUILDERS.

"Nor be it e'er forgotten how, by skill
Of cloistered architects, free their souls to fill
With love of God, throughout the land were raised
Churches, on whose symbolic beauty gazed
Peasant and mail-clad Chief with pious awe,"

WORDSWORTH.

It is well known that most of our Abbey and Cathedral churches were built during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Previous to the eleventh century the ecclesiastical edifices of Scotland, and even those of England, were, with comparatively few exceptions, constructed of wood. The introduction of a statelier style of architecture was connected with a singular chapter in European history.

* See Acts of the Scottish Parliament, in 11 vols. fol. One instance occurs as early as 1289 ; another occurs in 1315, in a Parliament held at Ayr (Robertson's Index to Charters). There are many others in the 15th and 16th centuries.

In the latter half of the tenth century an opinion, founded on an erroneous interpretation of Revelation xx. 2-4, was universally prevalent amongst the Latin Churches, that the destruction of the world was to take place at the end of a thousand years from the birth of Christ. As the time of this expected catastrophe drew near, a panic seized the minds of men. The land remained uncultivated; private houses and churches were allowed to fall into decay, and were even in some cases pulled down, as being soon to become useless. Whenever an eclipse of the sun or moon took place, multitudes fled to rocks and caverns. Many personages of the highest rank sought admission into the monkish fraternities, upon which, at the same time, they bestowed all their possessions, with the view of appeasing the wrath of Heaven: while the humbler classes took refuge within and around the walls of churches, where alone they hoped to find security. Large numbers also hastened to Palestine, which, they believed, would be the place of Christ's advent to judgment.

But when at length the dreaded or hoped-for year passed away without any calamity, a powerful reaction set in. "As if men's minds had now reached the lowest point, there was a perpetual rise from this date. When the first day of the thousand and first year shone on the world, it seemed as if a weight had been removed. There were stirrings everywhere for a new order of things. As if by universal consent, the first attention was paid to the maintenance of the churches—those holy buildings by whose virtues the wrath of Heaven had been turned away. Everything was projected on a gigantic scale, with the idea of permanence brought forward, now that the threatened end of all things was seen to be postponed." *

* White's Eighteen Christian Centuries. See also Mosheim, Tenth and Eleventh Centuries. Bloxam's Gothic Architecture, p. 94, 10th ed.

The effects of this impulse, aided also by other influences, were various and long continued. The erection and endowment of churches and monasteries went rapidly forward ; and the efforts made to satisfy the nobler aspirations now evoked, culminated in new and more magnificent styles of architecture.

It was, however, more immediately from England that this impulse was communicated to Scotland. The union of Malcolm Canmore with the Princess Margaret about the year 1070, which was the means of introducing into the northern kingdom many social changes, produced a similar effect in regard to church architecture. The change is visible in the nave of Dunfermline Abbey, which the queen founded in the town where her marriage had been celebrated. That portion of the structure, which is believed not to have been materially altered when the choir was subsequently remodelled, and to be the oldest remaining specimen of the Romanesque style in Scotland (of which Leuchars Church is another, though a later example), shows both a great advance on the previous architecture of the country, and a striking similarity to the style prevalent in England during the same period.* The movement thus begun by the saintly Margaret was zealously continued by her sons Edgar, Alexander I., and David I., who devoted their energies to the overthrow of the now degenerate Culdees, and the substitution of Romish monks, priests, and bishops, with majestic Cathedral and Abbey Churches, and all the materials of a splendid form of worship. King David especially was forward in this work. He founded, or endowed, no fewer than fifteen monasteries, besides many bishoprics—a prodigality which drew from one of his royal successors, James I. of Scotland, the bitter complaint that he was “a soir sanct for the Crown.”†

* See Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, p. 607. Bloxam's *Gothic Architecture*, p. 178.

† David “wrought a change in ecclesiastical affairs almost as great as that which was subsequently accomplished by Knox. He in

It was, however, one of the best means which could then be adopted for civilizing his semi-barbarous subjects. The noble and wealthy of the land, and especially the new Saxon and Norman settlers who had received grants of land from the Crown, hastened to follow these royal examples; and so vigorously was the building of churches and monasteries for a long period carried on, that, as an old historian remarks, the worship of God could with difficulty be performed, on account of the noise of hammers and trowels. This spirit of enthusiasm, indeed, pervaded all classes:—

“ By such examples moved to unbought pains,
The people work like congregated bees;
Eager to build the quiet fortresses
Where Piety, as they believe, obtains
From Heaven a *general* blessing; timely rains
Or needful sunshine; prosperous enterprise,
Justice and peace.” *

It is believed that those magnificent structures, whose ruins now cover the land, and excite so much regret in the mind of every lover of art, were the work of Free-masons, who, according to the best established accounts, originated in the Middle Ages, and travelled about from one country to another as their services were required. This opinion is strengthened by the fact, that many, and even close resemblances, can be traced both in the plans and minute details of structures remote from each other. Whenever an Abbey or Cathedral was to be erected, a lodge of Free-masons, governed by their own laws, and enjoying important privileges, settled in the neighbourhood. The oldest masonic lodges in Scotland are said to be those of the towns which contained some effect built up that which Knox, when it was in a state of decay, pulled down. He drove out the now antiquated Culdees, and introduced prelates and priests: Knox cast out the prelates and priests, and brought in Protestant preachers.”—(Cunningham's Church History of Scotland, I. 145).

* Wordsworth.

early and important Church or Abbey, with which they are understood to be coeval.* The *designers* of those splendid buildings were, however, generally the Monks and Churchmen themselves, who were devoted to the study of architecture, as well as of the various arts connected with the ornamentation of churches.

The completion of an Abbey was generally the work of a lengthened period. Additions were made from time to time according to the necessities of the monastery, or the funds at its disposal. The general ground-plan of those structures was nearly the same in all. In the erection of the Church, which was usually in the form of a Latin cross, having its greatest length running from east to west, it was customary to commence with the head of the cross, or east end, and to finish the Choir, as that portion of the building was called, as soon as possible for the celebration of divine service. The Transepts, or arms of the cross, were next added, and the building was then frequently closed in by a temporary wall to the west; while the lower portion of the cross, or Nave, and the Tower, which was usually placed at the point where the transepts intersected the main body of the building, were sometimes not erected till long afterwards. Balmerino Abbey was commenced soon after the year 1225. We have no details regarding the progress of the erection of the Church, further than that it must have been so far advanced in 1233 as to admit of its Founder's interment before the High Altar, which took place there in that year. The Cathedral Church of St Andrews is known not to have been finished till 158 years after its commencement. Such delay admitted of every portion being executed in the most tasteful and substantial manner; but it also led, in many instances, like that of St Andrews Cathedral itself, to a diversity of style in the several portions of the same edifice, owing to

* See Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals*, p. 639. Tytler's *History of Scotland*, chap. vi.

the fashion having meanwhile changed. The Abbey Church would not be dedicated till its completion, of the date of which we are ignorant.* Besides the Church, the other principal buildings of the Abbey consisted of a Chapter-house, Refectory, Dormitory, Cells, Abbot's house, &c., most of them surrounding a quadrangular area, which, in other monasteries, was usually on the south side of the nave of the Church, but was here, no doubt after the example of Melrose, on the north side. We shall reserve farther description of the buildings of the monastery till, in a subsequent chapter, we can view them in connection with the existing ruins.†

CHAPTER IV.

FOUNDATION OF THE ABBEY.

ABBOT ALAN.

"A House of prayer and penitence—dedicate
Hundreds of years ago to God, and Her
Who bore the Son of Man! An Abbey fair
As ever lifted reverentially
The solemn quiet of its stately roof
Beneath the moon and stars."

WILSON.

WE now proceed to relate the history of the Abbey, arranging our materials, so far as possible, in chronological order under the names of the successive Abbots.

QUEEN ERMENGARDE, the second wife and the widow of William the Lion, and the daughter of Richard, Earl of Bellomont, or Beaumont, seems to have once, or oftener, taken up her residence at Balmerino for the benefit of her

* Arbroath Abbey, begun in 1178, was dedicated in 1233; and Cupar and Newbattle Abbeys in that year also.

† See Part II., chap. XII.

health. During her married life she is said to have exercised a very beneficial influence upon her royal husband, and the events of his reign. Her usual residence now was Forfar; the lands and castles of which, according to Hollingshead, were given her by her son Alexander II. towards her maintenance, "because she determined to remain during the residue of her life in the place where that holy woman Queen Margaret sometime led her life." It would seem, therefore, that it was as a summer residence, and on account of its salubrity, that she frequented Balmerino. We know not how or where she was lodged; but Balmerino must have at that period contained some edifice—perhaps the manor-house of its proprietor, Adam de Stawel—suitable for so distinguished an occupant. Here she resolved, in accordance with the religious ideas of the time, and influenced by gratitude for the benefit which her health had received, and, no doubt, also by the amenity and retirement of the situation, to found a Cistercian monastery. The monks are often accused of having selected for themselves the best and most fertile situations of the country, but the truth is, that the choice was generally, as in the present instance, not theirs, but that of their pious benefactors, whose design was to devote to the cause of religion, as they understood it, the best they possessed or could procure.

In the year 1225, Adam de Stawel was, as heir to Henry and Richard de Reuel, the proprietor of the lands of Cultra, Balmerino, and Ardint* (most of the lands of the Parish, as then existing, being included under these names), and also patron of the Church of Balmerino. On the first Sunday after the festival of St Dionysius of that year, he resigned, *by staff and baton*,† to the Queen, in her son's court at For-

* *Easter Ardint* in Richard Reuel's charter.

† *Per fustem et baculum*. Land was anciently conveyed by the delivery of a stick or straw, or clod of earth, in the presence of a number of witnesses.

far, the above-named lands, with the patronage of the Church, that she might apply them to whatever use she pleased, without opposition from him or his heirs: in consideration of which Her Majesty agreed to pay him a thousand merks* at the "Temple of Lundin," in two equal instalments; the receipt of which money he afterwards acknowledged by his letters-patent.†

The possession of these lands now enabled the Queen to fulfil her pious design. Probably one of her first acts was to execute, in 1227, a charter conveying the Church of Balmerino, and its revenues, to the new monastery.‡ The buildings were speedily commenced, and before the end of the year 1229, when they were first taken possession of by the Monks, they must have been so far advanced as to embrace at least an oratory, a refectory, a dormitory, a strangers' cell, and a porter's lodge, which, by the rules of the Cistercian order, were required to be ready in a new monastery—as were also the books necessary for Divine service—before the brethren could be settled in it.

The original colony of Monks came from the Abbey of Melrose, whence they set out on the 13th December 1229, under their first Superior, ABBOT ALAN.§ It would, no doubt, cost the worthy recluses a considerable effort of self-

* Land was valued in the 13th century at from 10 to 13 years' purchase.

† Balmerino Chartulary, Nos. 4, 5, 6.

‡ A leaf of the MS. Chartulary, part of which is torn away, seems to have contained such a charter, dated 1227. Had it been entire, it would, no doubt, have furnished us with some interesting information about Balmerino and its ancient church. Its being torn out is a suspicious circumstance, and suggests the inquiry, By whom, or why?

§ Chron. Mailr. p. 141, Bannatyne Club Ed. "Anno Domini mcccxix. facta est abbatia Sancti Edwardi de Balmorinac a rege Alexandro et matre ejus; et missus est illuc conventus de Melros, cum domino Alano Abbate suo, in die Sancte Lucie virginis."

denial to quit the lovely valley of the Tweed, and the parent monastery of their Order in Scotland ; possessing, too, such variety of attractions, and consecrated by so many saintly associations ; to go forth to a residence new and incomplete, in a district to which most of them were probably total strangers. But we can imagine their glad surprise when, after a long and toilsome journey, they reach the crest of the high ridge overlooking Balmerino, and the magnificent panorama suddenly bursts upon their sight. Before them is the majestic Tay

“Rolled down from Highland hills,
That rests his waves, after so rude a race,
In the fair plains of Gowrie
. Yonder to the east,
Dundee, the gift of God”

reposing under the protection of its “Law.” Beyond are the Braes of the Carse and the Sidlaw range, encircling, by a wide sweep, this foreground of smiling plain and sparkling estuary ; while, in the back-ground, tower up against the sky the lofty peaks of the distant Grampians. Let us hope that when the pilgrim Monks beheld this noble prospect, of its kind scarcely surpassed in Scotland, and which was henceforth to be daily in their view ; and when their eyes lighted on the romantic spot selected for their own abode, low down by the margin of the Tay, and girt in by the surrounding heights—thus affording that seclusion so much sought by the Cistercians—they would deem Balmerino no bad exchange even for “fair Melrose” itself, the choice of such a situation evincing the taste, no less than the piety of its royal and widowed Founder.

We may feel assured that the satisfaction of the good Cenobites would be more than equalled by that of the inhabitants of the district, who would regard them with affection and veneration. Great would be the joy and ex-

citement when the rustics saw them approaching—perhaps in solemn procession, and with chanting*—and at length entering their new quarters. If there were serfs remaining on the lands now the property of the Abbey, they, too, would rejoice in the prospect of the freedom, or, at least, the improvement of their condition, which would result from their connection with the Monks. The arrival of the peaceful brotherhood would, indeed, be the great event of the time, throughout the whole length of the district between Lindores and St. Andrews.

We have no information as to the *number* of the monks who formed the Convent at the commencement, or in the earlier periods of their history. We have seen that the smallest number allowable by the rules of the order was twelve, besides the Abbot. Under the first Abbot of the neighbouring monastery of Lindores, there were twenty-six monks.† In the Priory of St. Andrews there were, according to Martine,‡ thirty-four canons, besides numerous servants and dependants : but the number would, of course, vary from time to time. Some other monasteries contained a still larger number. A feu-charter, signed by the Abbot and convent of Balmerino in 1537, contains fifteen names. Other similar documents subsequent to that period, have fewer signatures appended ; but there is no reason to suppose that any one of them was signed by all the monks, some of whom were in charge of the distant possessions

* “The Silver Cross, which ye, instead
Of martial banner, in procession bear ;
. By Augustin led,
They come—and onward travel without dread,
Chanting in barbarous ears a tuneful prayer—
Sung for themselves, and those whom they would free !”

(From Wordsworth's Sonnet, on the arrival of St. Augustin in England.)

† Fordun's *Scotochronicon*.

‡ *Reliquiae Divi Andreae*.

of the monastery, while others might be labouring under infirmity. Besides, the Reformation being at hand, their number was then, in all probability, less than during the earlier periods, when the House was at its greatest strength. Perhaps we shall not greatly err if we suppose that the monks of Balmerino were nearly equal in number to those of Lindores at the period above-mentioned. Besides the monks, there would be a considerable number of *converts*.

Queen Ermengarde's project was, from its very commencement, warmly seconded by her son Alexander II. Not only did he aid her by his advice, and by interesting himself in the erection of the monastic buildings, but by his own liberality he added very considerably to the endowments of the rising house.* Indeed his benefactions were fully as great as those of his mother. About the time of its foundation he conferred on the Abbey the lands of Barry, anciently called Fethmoreth, Fethmure, or Fettermore, which then belonged to the crown, and where he himself was residing in the spring of 1229. This valuable grant included the whole parish of Barry, except thirteen acres which had previously been bestowed on the Abbey of Arbroath. Nor was King Alexander's liberality, as we shall see, exhausted by this splendid gift.

The Foundation Charter was not executed till the 3d of February 1230-31.† It runs in the King's name. We shall give a translation of this document entire, as a specimen of the deeds by which property and privileges were usually

* "Monasterium fundavit Ermergarda memorabilis foemina, Alexandro filio non solum consulente, sed et adjuvante et promovente aedificia, munificentia in Religiosos inexhausta."—(Father Hay's *MS. Scotia Sacra*, in *Advocates' Library*, quoting the *Liber de Cupro*.)

† Chartulary, No. 1. Boece erroneously assigns the honour of founding the Abbey to William the Lion, and calls it *Abermoroenochtum*. Hollinshead follows him as to the founder.

conveyed to the Monastery. The dates of those charters, being not always given, are sometimes matter of conjecture only. The charters are generally attested by numerous witnesses, whose names are set down in the order of their rank, bishops and abbots taking precedence of temporal barons. Though the witnesses were present, it was, no doubt, the scribe who wrote down their names, as few laymen, at least in the earlier periods of the Abbey's history, could practise an art which was then thought suitable only for churchmen. The benefactions are usually stated to be given in pure and perpetual charity to God and the Blessed Mary, St. Edward, and the Monks of the Cistercian order serving God at Balmurnach; and for the welfare of the souls of the donor and his family, his ancestors and descendants, and sometimes of the Queen, her husband, and son. The names of persons and places are, as in all ancient documents, frequently spelt different ways even in the same charter. In cases of sale or contract the seals of both parties, or that of one of them, or of his burgh, if he was a citizen, was usually affixed.

FOUNDATION CHARTER.

ALEXANDER, by the grace of God, King of Scots, to the Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, Justices, Sheriffs, Provosts, Ministers, and all good men, both clergy and laity, of his whole kingdom, greeting: Let this and future generations know that we, for the honour of God, and of the glorious Virgin Mary, and of the most holy King Edward, and for the exaltation of holy religion; for our own salvation, and that of all our ancestors and descendants; and for the souls of the illustrious King William our father, and Queen Ermengarde our mother, and of all our predecessors and successors; have founded an Abbey of the Cistercian order at Balmurnach in Fyff; and that to the Monks of that Order

who are, and shall ever be, serving God there, we have given and granted, and by this our charter have confirmed, the whole land of Cultrach and Balmurynach in Fyff, with all their pertinents—viz., Ballindan, and Ballindard, and Corbi,* according to their just boundaries. [We have also granted to them the Mother Church of Balmurynach, with all its pertinents],† and all things justly belonging to the said lands : which also Adam de Stawel, brother and heir of Richard Reuel, quit-claimed to us, in our full court at Forfar, towards the enterprise of the lady, Queen Ermengarde our mother, and, *by staff and baton*, resigned, for himself and his heirs, in our hand. We have also granted to the said monks of the Cistercian order, towards the foundation of the fore-named Abbacy, Fethmure in Anegus, according to its just boundaries, with all its just pertinents. And we and our heirs will maintain and warrant to the said Monks the fore-said lands, with all their pertinents and liberties, for ever against all men. Wherefore our will is, that the said Monks have and hold from us and our successors all the foresaid lands in free, pure, quiet, and perpetual charity, in respect of lands and waters, meadows and pastures, moors and marshes, dams and mills, roads and footpaths, saltworks and fishings, and all other privileges justly pertaining to the said

* Ardint is not mentioned in this charter, though it was acquired by the Queen.

† The bracketted words are not in the printed Chartulary, nor in the MS. from which it is taken. They are to be found in a *fac simile* of the Foundation Charter printed in Anderson's *Diplomata*, from a copy furnished him by Lord Balmerino, and also in a copy printed in "Illustrations of Scottish History from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Centuries," in the Maitland Club series. Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. ii. p. 105, contains a copy communicated by Sir James Balfour, and differing in several words from the printed Charter. It wants the bracketted words. There are copies of documents Nos. 5 and 6 of the Chartulary in the Acts of the Scottish Parliament, ed. in 11 vols. folio.

lands, as freely and quietly, fully and honourably, as any other charity is held or possessed in the kingdom of Scotland : exempt from aids, armies, taxes, tolls, and all secular exactions, customs, and services, so that none soever of those things can be demanded from them throughout the whole kingdom of Scotland, except their prayers alone. Witnesses—Andrew, Bishop of Moray ; Walter Cumin, Earl of Meninteh ; Walter Olyfard, Justiciary of Laodonia ;* Walter, son of Alan, High-Steward and Justiciary of Scotia ; Earl Patrick ; Henry de Ballol ; Thomas de Haya ; John and Walter, his brothers ; Thomas, son of Randulf ; Galfrid and William de Nithyn, our clerks. At Clacmanan, the third day of February, in the seventeenth year of our reign.†

The liberality of the Queen and her son was speedily imitated, though in a lesser degree, by others. Four small benefactions were made to the Abbey soon after its foundation. Richard de Leicestria grants a piece of ground in the Sadlers' Street, Perth, subject to an annuity of two and a half merks to himself during his lifetime. Walter, son of Alan, High-Steward of Scotia, grants another piece of ground in Perth, subject to a *reddendo* of two pounds of pepper, and

* The country south of the Forth was at this time called Laodonia, and that north of it, Scotia.

† This charter makes no mention of the right of *free regality*, or feudal jurisdiction, though it had been previously granted to the Renels. But this right was certainly possessed by the Abbey at a subsequent period, and would be conveyed when the Abbey lands, as such, were erected into a barony or baronies. In 1561 the lands of Balmerino, Petgorno, and Barry were each a distinct barony—(Abbey Revenue in MS. in Advocates' Library). When they were made baronies, if they were ever *formally* so made, does not appear. Tytler, writing of the thirteenth century, says that free regality may be presumed, on strong grounds, to have been enjoyed by every religious house in the kingdom—(History of Scotland, chap. vi.) A charter by Abbot Robert to Sir Peter Crichton of Naughton in 1539 mentions "our barony of Balmurinach."

an equal quantity of cumin annually, which was afterwards remitted by his son Alexander. Laurence, son of Widon, sells to the monks a piece of ground in Perth, and in 1289 John de Murray bestows another piece adjacent to it, in the Watergate. Davit de Lyndsay of Brenweuill (in Ayrshire), grants an annuity of twenty shillings from his mill of Kerchow (or Kirkhuet), for furnishing a repast *pitancia* to the monks on the anniversary of "Ermengarde of blessed memory." This is confirmed by the king on the 28th March 1233.*

The good Queen had the satisfaction of seeing the building and endowment of the Abbey thus far advanced before her death, which took place on the 11th February 1233.† She was buried at Balmerino,‡ before the high altar of the Abbey church,§ the King her son, and, doubtless, many of his nobles, being present at her interment.|| She thus found a resting-place similar to that of her husband in the Abbey of Arbroath, which he had founded. All this was in strict accordance with the ideas of the time. The Queen's death and burial are thus related by Wynton, Prior of Loehleven, in his "Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland," under the year 1233 :—

"And the yhere neyst foluand,
Ermygere, quhylum of Scotland

* Chartulary, Nos. 19, 20, 22-27, 30.

† There seems to be no good reason for Turnbull's assertion that the terms of the Foundation Charter induce the inference that the Queen was then (3d Feb. 1230-31) dead. The Chron. Melr., Wynton, and Fordun assign her death to 1233.

‡ Chron. Mailr., Balfour, Wynton, Balmerine Chartulary, App. No. II.

§ Spottiswoode's Religious Houses, quoting a copy of Laurence de Abernethy's charter different from that in the Chartulary (No. 7), which does not mention the fact, though it is on all accounts probable.

|| Balmerino Chartulary, App. No. II.

Queyn, the Kyng Williamys Wyf,
Deyd, and endyd had hyr lyf.
Of Balmwrynach in hyr day
Of Mwnkis scho fowndyt the Abbay;
Thare wes hyr body wyth honoure
Enteryd in halowyd sepulture."

Not content with spending a thousand merks during her lifetime on an undertaking which she had so much at heart, the Queen, by her will, directed her executors to pay two hundred merks more to Laurence of Abernethy, brother-in-law of Henry Reuel, in order to purchase from him a renunciation of his interest in the lands of Cultrach, "Balnedan," "Balindart," "Cortiby," and Balmurynach. He accordingly executed a deed, by which he quit-claimed, for himself and his heirs, all right which he and they had, or could have, in those lands. It was witnessed by the King, several bishops, abbots, and other high functionaries.*

After his mother's death, Alexander II. continued to show his interest in the House, and made several visits to it. Thus we find him at Balmerino on the 9th April 1234, when he grants a charter remitting to the monks a yearly payment due to himself from a burgage in Crail, which they had purchased from certain of the townsmen there.†

On the following day, by a charter given at Balmerino, the King bestows on the Abbot and Convent the privilege of holding their lands of Balmerino and Barry "in free forest." This valuable grant included the right of hunting, hawking, and killing all kinds of game. The charter also shows how strictly game was preserved even in those remote times, since it declares that any one found cutting trees, or hunting in the above mentioned lands, without permission from the Monks, should be subjected to the very heavy penalty of "full forfeiture" of ten pounds. On this visit there were

* Chartulary, No. 7.

† Chartulary, No. 85.

present at Balmerino, along with the King, the Bishop of Glasgow, Chancellor; the Bishop of Dunblane; William, son of Alan, High-Steward and Justiciary of Scotland; Laurence of Abernethy, and others.*

The King is again at Balmerino on the 31st of August of the same year, accompanied by the Bishop of Moray; Alexander Cumyn, Earl of Buchan, Justiciary of Scotland; Patrick, Earl of Dunbar; Sir Nicolas Sowl, and Sir William Ramsay, when he grants a charter confirming to the monks the lands of Ballindan, Cultrath, and Corbi (which the King calls *his* lands), according to their just boundaries, which are thus described:—"Beginning at the east side, viz., at Carneden, and proceeding along the Motrich, according to its ancient course, as far as the stream which runs from the Dolle; and thence ascending by the southern stream to the well; and ascending from the well northwards and upwards to the hill; and thence proceeding westwards to Mierkip; and thence along the ridge of the hill to the marsh on the east side of Creych [at Hazleton?]: and thence descending by the ancient course of the stream in Corbiden to the water of Tay." These boundaries seem to be identical with those of the parish, on the south and west, at the present day.†

Probably on the same day His Majesty confirms to the monks a grant of land which had been previously given them by Symon de Kynner. Symon's charter describes it as a piece of land in the 'territory' of Catholach (Kedlock), called Reginald's land, including the hill called Tor Catholach.‡ It conveys to the monks also the right of keeping two hundred sheep on the common pasture there; and if it should be insufficient for so many, Symon and his heirs shall make good to the monks the deficiency from his 'lordship' of Catholach.

* Chartulary, No. 8.

† Chartulary, No. 56.

‡ In 1623 certain lands at Kedlock were termed the lands of Prior Cathlok, indicating, probably, the former residence there of a Prior who took charge of the Abbey lands.

Hugo, chaplain of Kilmany, is one of the witnesses to this charter.*

In 1235 the King confers another benefit on the monks. As early as 1230 an agreement had been entered into between them and the monks of Arbroath, "for confirming peace for ever" with each other, whereby Balmerino Abbey was to pay to Arbroath "in good faith, and without any evil intentions," the tithes of any lands which the former Abbey might have in any parish whose church belonged to the latter, according to their value at the time of entry. This agreement, no doubt, referred chiefly to the case of Barry, the lands of which now belonged to Balmerino Abbey, but the church and its revenues to Arbroath Abbey, on which they had previously been conferred by William the Lion. But monks always tried to evade the delivery of their tithes in kind to another Religious House, and to get a composition accepted in lieu of them. Accordingly the tithes of Barry were at some date previous to 1233, with consent of the Bishop of St Andrews, surrendered by Arbroath Abbey to that of Balmerino, for a fixed payment, by the latter, of forty merks annually. Matters were in this state when the King came to Balmerino on the occasion of his mother's funeral. He then promised to relieve the monks of Balmerino from the above yearly payment, by providing an equivalent to Arbroath from another source. Accordingly, on Christmas day, 1235, His Majesty, being then at St Andrews, confers on Arbroath Abbey an extensive tract of land in Aberdeenshire. A charter is next granted by the monks of that House setting forth that since the King "loving with a special affection and favour both Monasteries, the one rendered illustrious by the tomb of his father, and the other by that of his mother," has

* Chartulary, No. 39. The date of the confirmation is 31st August 1244, but this is, perhaps, an error of the scribe.

provided an equivalent for the forty merks, they now release their brethren of Balmerino from the payment of that annual sum, and surrender to them the church of Fethmureth with all its rights ; and undertake to be responsible for all episcopal and other burdens attaching to that church ; it being understood that the chaplain who shall serve the cure shall have the bovat of land (thirteen acres) formerly assigned to him, as perambulated by Jocelyn of Balindard and Nicolas of Innerpefir.* It appears, however, that Arbroath Abbey still retained the patronage of the church of Barry, now a vicarage ; and several presentations to it, of the years 1463, 1489, and 1533, are inserted in the Register of that house.†

It will be proper here to explain the origin of this practice of conferring the revenues of churches upon Religious Houses. In early times of persecution, properly qualified persons could not always be obtained to supply the many vacant churches. In such cases a congregation was commended to the care of some neighbouring pastor, hence called the *Commendator*, who also managed the church's revenues for the intended minister, but received no part of them for his own use. In course of time, however, Commendators began to appropriate the revenues, and, with a view to this, rather retarded the appointment of a pastor to a vacancy. At length the Popes authorized the practice that a clergyman might possess *in commendam* other benefices besides his own, and should be obliged to give only a small part of the revenues to the priest who performed the duty in his stead, and who was hence called the *vicar*. The latter was, however, in all cases responsible to the bishop of the diocese (whose consent was necessary before a church could be given away *in commendam*) for the discharge of his spiritual duties. In some

* Chartulary, No. 9, Appendix I., II., III.

† The patronage of Barry afterwards passed into the hands of the Commendators of Balmerino—*how*, it does not appear—and thence to Lord Balmerino.

cases the vicar was maintained by a very small money stipend, in others by the lesser tithes,* and occasionally by a share of the great tithes of corn. Generally, the Commendator drew the great tithes. It became, eventually, a common practice to increase the endowments of bishops and monasteries by granting to them churches *in commendam*, whose revenues they drew on condition of supplying vicars to perform the parochial duties.† The parochial system was not long in operation in Scotland ere its efficiency was greatly impaired by this practice. In the reign of William the Lion, no fewer than thirty-three parish churches were thus bestowed on the recently founded Abbey of Arbroath. The revenues of Lindores Abbey seem to have been mainly derived from a similar source. The interests of the parishioners were thus sacrificed to the splendour of the prelates and of the religious houses, in consequence of the degraded and dependant position of the incumbents.‡ Eventually, Abbeys themselves were given away *in commendam* to bishops, and even to laymen.

Balmerino Abbey, as we have seen, acquired at its foundation the church of Balmerino. It now obtained that of

* The *lesser tithes* consisted of hay, calves, lambs, fish, eggs, fruit, butter, cheese, &c., according to the character of the subject tithed. Sometimes the vicar got a third of the tithes.

† See Cook's History of the Reformation, I. 58.

‡ To so great an extent was this practice carried, that, at the time of the Reformation, the church of Flisk was the only *rectory* (its incumbent being thence called the *parson* of Flisk) in all this district. The others were all vicarages, having been bestowed on some bishop, college, or religious house. Kilmany was given to St Salvador's College, St Andrews; Creich to Lindores Abbey; Dunbog to Arbroath Abbey; Moonzie to the Ministry of Scotland Well; Logie and Balmerino to Balmerino Abbey; Leuchars and Forgan to St Andrews Priory. There were but eight rectories in all Fife at the Reformation, and 700 of the 1000 (more or fewer) churches in Scotland were vicarages.—(Keith's History).

Barry. At some future period, which must have been subsequent to the reign of Pope Innocent IV., (1242-1254) since his Bull of protection makes no mention of it, it acquired the church of Logie-Murdoch.* That is to say, the Abbey drew the tithes, offerings, and other revenues of those churches, and (with the exception of Barry) supplied them with vicars, who were accountable to the bishop for the discharge of their spiritual duties, and were maintained either by a small money stipend, or by the lesser tithes. The case of Balmerino church was peculiar, inasmuch as the whole parish was Abbey property, excepting some minute portions which would seem to have been afterwards acquired by it. Here the Abbey Church would serve as the Parish church. There would be no payment of tithes, since the Abbey stood in the place of rector, landlord, and tenant.† One of the monks would, in all probability, be appointed vicar of the Parish. It may be supposed that the bishop would insist on this, especially as the servants and tenants of the Abbey increased in number. There is, however, no notice of such an official in any of the existing records of the monastery; nor is there any mention of the old Parish Church after the settlement of the monks at Balmerino. Most probably it was allowed to fall into decay.

Abbot Alan ruled over the Convent only six years and a few months, and died on the 28th of June 1236.‡ He is

* The ancient valuation of Logie Church was 20 merks. There were, however, glebe lands in addition to this.—(Books of Assignment).

† It resembled, in this respect, Melrose, where the Abbey lands included "all that formed the parish at the Reformation, and now. The Abbey church served as the parish church. Here there was no rector and vicar, at first no landlord and tenant; and more remarkable still, no tithes. The monks were proprietors and cultivators, parishioner and parson."—(Innes's Sketches of Early Scotch History, pp. 12, 13).

‡ Chron. Mailr., p. 147.

said to have been esteemed "the most learned man of his age,"* and it was, doubtless, this reputation which procured for him the honour of being appointed the first Abbot of Balmerino. In what departments of learning he excelled we are not informed. This would be worth knowing!

CHAPTER V.

ABBOTS RALPH, JOHN, AND ADAM I.

"Not sedentary all: there are who roam
 To scatter seeds of life on barbarous shores;
 Or quit with zealous step their knee-worn floors
 To seek the general mart of Christendom;
 Whence they, like richly-laden merchants, come
 To their belovèd cells." WORDSWORTH.

ABBOT ALAN was succeeded by RALPH, who, before his elevation to the government, had been Cellarer of the Abbey. He ruled longer than his predecessor, having lived till 1251. A large addition was made to the Abbey property in his time, and the Original Bull for the protection of its privileges was obtained from Rome.

Malcolm, Earl of Fife, granted to the Convent all the water running from his mill of Rathillet by its ancient course to the mill of Ballindan, as in the time of Henry and Richard Reuel; and also the right of digging turf for repairing the channel when necessary, without injury to the Earl's arable or meadow land. The names of some of the witnesses to this

* "Consecravit initia nascentis domûs S. Alanus Abbas, vir sua ætate doctissimus."—(Father Hay's MS. quoting the "Liber de Cupro").

grant, of whom the King is the first, prove that it must have been made not later than 1238.*

Soon after that period the Abbey acquired the lands of Petgornoc and Drundol, at, and near Strathmiglo, to be held in free charity after the decease of the countess Marjorie, the King's sister, who had obtained these lands from Malcolm, Earl of Fife, in exchange for those of Strathurd and Strathbraun, given her by King William as her dowry. The charter by which the Abbey acquired these lands is in the form of a grant, or confirmation, by King Alexander II. ;† but it is most probable that in this His Majesty only gave effect to the wishes of the Countess Marjorie herself, just as his mother's benefactions to the Abbey had been previously expressed in his own name. The Countess was the youngest of the three daughters of William the Lion by Queen Ermengarde. She was celebrated for her beauty, and made a deep impression on the heart of Henry III. of England, who was only prevented from marrying her by reasons of state. She was subsequently (1236) united to Gilbert the Mareschal, the youthful Earl of Pembroke, and died without issue. Though removed to England, she was not unmindful of the land of her birth, nor of the Abbey founded by her mother, and, in all probability, directed that the above-mentioned lands in Fife, previously acquired, doubtless, with that view, in exchange for her former more distant possessions, should, after her decease, be added to the grants made by her mother and brother. The names of the witnesses determine the date of the King's charter to have been between 1240 and 1249. As the exchange of the lands referred to took place so nearly at the same time as the preceding grant by Earl Malcolm, perhaps they formed parts of the same transaction.

This extensive grant included the lands now called Stedmuirland, Friarmyln, Kincraigie, Pitgorno or Pitgorno,

* Chartulary, No. 37. "Rathillet Meal Mill" still pays 11s. 10d. of feu-duty to F. A. Stuart, of Balmerino.

† Chartulary, No. 10.

Craigfod or Freeland, Drumdriel, and Gaitside. At the last-named place the monks afterwards built a chapel, which they dedicated to the Virgin Mary, for the benefit of the western part of the parish of Strathmiglo, and more especially, we may suppose, for their own use, and that of their servants. It stood in a den or hollow at the west end of the village of Gateside, where a rivulet joins the Eden, and which was called the Chapel Den, as a well near by was called the Chapel Well. The village was anciently called the Chapeltown of the Virgin; and the lands there are described in old writs as "the chapel lands of St Mary of Dun-gaitsyd," or as "the aikers of land of Sanct Marie's Chappel callit Gaitsyd."*

About the same period as the above, Roger de Quency, Earl of Winchester, and High Constable of Scotland, grants a portion of his "peatery" in his moss of Swanismire, "beginning at the place where the stream which issues from Aldaniswell falls into Swanismire, and proceeding northwards across it to the marches of ——" (the rest of the document is wanting.)† That the monks should be kept warm and comfortable, seems to have been a ruling idea in the generous soul of this Earl Roger, for we find him granting to Lindores Abbey a right to as many peats for the Convent's own use as they chose to take from his peatery of Menegre, and also to two hundred carts of heather annually from his moor of Kinloch.‡ His grandfather, Robert de Quenci, a Northamptonshire baron, who, like so many of his countrymen, had settled in Scotland, acquired the lordship of Leuchars by marrying Arabella, daughter of Ness, its Celtic owner, in the reign of King William. It was probably Seyer, the father of Earl Roger, and one of the "Magna Charta" barons, who built the Anglo-Norman, or

* Swan and Leighton's Fife Illustrated, article Strathmiglo.

† Chartulary, No. 38.

‡ Chartulary of Lindores, App. No. III.

Romanesque Church of Leuchars, part of which still exists, being perhaps the oldest building in this district of Fife. Their Castle was close to the site of the present village.

Between 1242 and 1254 John, Earl of Huntedon, grants to the Abbey a toft in Dundee; and about the same time the monks acquired by purchase a piece of ground in the town of Forfar.*

The Abbey being now fully established, and liberally endowed, it became necessary to obtain Papal confirmation of its privileges and possessions, which was then considered essential to every religious enterprise. This was therefore applied for to Pope Innocent IV.—Abbot Ralph in all probability undertaking a special journey to Rome for that purpose—and obtained in a Bull of which the date is not given; but as Innocent IV. filled the Papal chair from 1242 to 1254, and another Bull of the year 1246 seems to have been granted to the Abbey subsequently to this, it is, apparently, to be fixed between 1242 and 1246. On account of the importance of this document,† as illustrative of the privileges of the Monastery, we must, notwithstanding its great length, give a translation of it without abridgement.

ORIGINAL BULL OF PROTECTION.

INNOCENT, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved sons the Abbot and brethren, both present and future, of the Monastery of Balmurynach professing a regular life. It is proper that the Apostolic protection be given to those who choose a religious life, lest perchance any in-

* Chartulary of Balmerino, Nos. 31, 36. The object for which they *purchased* property in the towns, as here at Forfar, and formerly at Perth and Crail, was probably that the Abbot might have a hostelry or lodging-place in those towns when he went thither either to attend the king, or on the business of the convent. See a following page for a notice of such a place in Dundee.

† Chartulary, No. 58.

discretion either draw them off from their purpose, or (which heaven forbid!) impair the strength of their sacred vows. Wherefore, beloved sons in the Lord, we mercifully assent to your reasonable demands, and take under St Peter's protection and our own, and fortify by this ordinance the Monastery of the Holy Mother of God and Virgin Mary of Balmurynach, in the diocese of St Andrews; in which you are given up to divine obedience. In the first place, we appoint that the monastic Order which is selected for institution in that monastery, according to God and the Rule of St Benedict, and the discipline of the Cistercian brethren recognised by us after a general Council, be there inviolably preserved in all time coming. Moreover, let whatever property, whatever goods the said Monastery may at present justly and canonically possess, or can in future acquire by the concession of Popes, the bounty of Kings, or the offering of faithful princes, or in other just methods, by the favour of God, remain sure and unimpaired to you and your successors. Of which things we have reckoned the following worthy of express mention:—The Place itself in which the said Monastery is situated, with all its pertinents of Cultran, Balmurynach in Fiff, Ballindan, Ballindard, Corby, and Fethmureth in Angus, Thorcatloch in Fiff, Petgornoch, and Drundole—these lands, with the pertinents thereof: houses which you have in the towns of Karal [Crail], St Andrews, Forfar, Dundee, Perth, and Rokisburg,* with the pertinents thereof: and the revenues which you have from the church of [Fethmureth in] Angus; with meadows, vineyards,† lands,

* The Abbey property in St Andrews and Roxburgh is not elsewhere mentioned in the Chartulary.

† The mention of vineyards here may be a mere customary form; but the vine was anciently cultivated in the open air in some parts both of England and Ireland. Vineyards were attached to many monasteries. Documents in the Record Office particularize the names and wages of the vine-dressers, and methods of wine-making. (See C. R. Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, Part II., Vol. vi.)

woods, customs and pastures, thickets and open grounds, waters, mills, roads, and bye-paths, and all other liberties and immunities. Let no one presume to demand or extort from you tithes of your newly reclaimed lands which you cultivate with your own hands, or at your own charges, of which no one has hitherto received tithes; nor from your gardens, underwood, fishings, and animals' food. It shall be lawful also for you to receive as *converts*, free and unfettered, clerical or lay persons fleeing from the world, and to retain them without any contradiction. Moreover, we forbid any of your brethren, after making his profession in your Monastery, to depart thence without permission of his Abbot. But let no one dare to detain a person departing, without the authority of your common letters. But if any shall presume so to detain him, it shall be lawful for us to publish a regular sentence against such Monks or Converts. We strictly forbid either lands, or any other gift conferred on your church, to be given to any one in his individual capacity, or to be alienated in any other way, without the consent of the whole Chapter, or of the major or wiser part of it. But if any donations or alienations have been made otherwise than as now stated, we pronounce them void. We further forbid any Monk or Convert bound under the profession of your House, without the consent and license of the Abbot, and the majority of your Chapter, to be surety for any one, or to receive money in loan from any one beyond the sum fixed by the foresight of your Chapter, unless for the manifest advantage of your House; which, if perchance he may have presumed to do, the Convent shall in no degree be held responsible for it. Moreover, it shall be lawful for you to make use of the testimony of your brethren in your own causes, whether involving a civil or criminal inquiry, lest, through defect of witnesses, your right in anything should be lost. We further forbid by Apostolic authority any bishop, or other person, to compel you to go to

Synods or public Assemblies, or to submit to a secular tribunal in respect of your substance or possessions; nor may he presume to come to your Houses * for the purpose of conferring Orders, handling causes, or calling any public assembly; nor impede the regular election of your Abbot; nor in the least degree interfere with the appointment or removal of him who for the time may have been in office even against the rules of the Cistercian order. But if the bishop in whose diocese your House is built, when requested, with becoming humility and devotion, to pronounce his benediction on the Abbot submitted to him, and to bestow upon you the other things which pertain to the episcopal office, shall refuse, it shall be lawful for the said Abbot, provided, however, he has completed his own noviciate, to give his benediction, and exercise the other functions of his own office, and lawful for you to receive from another bishop all those things which were unjustly denied you by your own. Moreover, in receiving those professions which are made by Abbots who have been, or are to be blessed, let Bishops be content with that form of expression which is known to have been in use since the foundation of the Order, so that Abbots themselves, in making their professions to the Bishop, shall be bound to preserve the privileges, and to make no profession contrary to the Statutes of the Order. Let no one dare to extort anything from you on pretence of custom, or in any other way, for consecrations of altars or churches, or for holy oil, or for any ecclesiastical sacrament; but let the diocesan Bishop supply all those things free of charge. Moreover, it shall be lawful for you to apply to whatever Catholic Bishop, being in favour and communion with the Apostolic See, you may prefer, who, under protection of our

* That is, to come uninvited, under pretence of conferring Holy Orders, &c. The bishop, *when asked*, consecrated the newly-elected Abbot, ordained monks, &c. (as below), but he had no control or jurisdiction over them.

authority, may supply to you what is demanded of him. But if the See of the diocesan Bishop happen to be vacant, you may in the meantime receive freely and without contradiction all the sacraments from the neighbouring bishops; provided, however, that no prejudice shall thence afterwards arise to your own Bishop. But since you have sometimes not the resource of your own bishop, if any bishop having, as we have said, favour and communion with the See of Rome, and of whom you have full knowledge, should happen to pass by you, you shall have power to receive from him, as by the authority of the Holy See, benedictions of vessels and robes, consecrations of altars, and ordinations of Monks. Moreover, if Bishops, or other rulers of churches, shall publish sentence of suspension, excommunication, or interdict against the Monastery, or persons placed therein, or even against your hired servants, on the alleged plea that you have not paid your tithes, or on account of those things which have been conceded to you by Apostolic kindness; or shall pronounce a similar sentence against your benefactors, because, out of charity, they have conferred some benefits or indulgences upon you, or helped you in your work on those days on which you were labouring while others were keeping holiday, we have decreed that such sentence, pronounced in opposition to the indulgence granted you by the Apostolic See, shall be void. Nor shall those letters have any force which may happen to have been obtained by concealing the name of the Cistercian Order, and in opposition to Apostolic privileges conferred. Moreover, when there shall be a general interdict laid on the country, it shall be lawful for you, nevertheless, after excluding excommunicated and interdicted persons, to perform Divine service in your monastery.* We, wishing, with paternal solicitude for the future, to provide also for your peace and

* When the Pope placed a province or country under an interdict, all the churches were shut, no marriage could take place ex-

tranquillity, prohibit by Apostolic authority within the inclosures of your Places, or Granges, all rapine or theft, fire-raising, bloodshed, rash seizure or slaying of men, or violence. Moreover, we confirm by Apostolic authority, and fortify by this Ordinance all liberties and immunities granted to your order by our predecessors the Roman Pontiffs; also liberties and exemptions from secular exactions granted you by Kings and princes, or, for good reasons, by others of the faithful. We therefore decree that it shall not be lawful for any one soever rashly to disturb the said Monastery, or to take away any of its possessions, or to retain them when taken away; to diminish them, or to annoy it by any vexatious acts; but that all things which have been granted for any future purpose whatsoever shall be preserved entire for the discipline and maintenance of its inmates, reserving the authority of the Holy See. If, therefore, any ecclesiastical or secular person, knowing this Writ of our constitution, shall attempt rashly to contravene it, let him, after being twice or thrice admonished (unless he shall atone for his crime by a suitable satisfaction), be deprived of the dignity of his power and honour; and let him know that he stands charged by Divine Justice with the iniquity so committed; and let him be cut off from the most Sacred Body and Blood of our God and Redeemer the Lord Jesus Christ; and let him lie under his severe vengeance at the Last Judgment. But on all who shall preserve for the said Place its rights let the peace of our Lord Jesus Christ rest, so that here they cept in the churchyard, and the dead were denied the rites of sepulture.

“Bells are dumb;

Ditches are graves—funereal rites denied;

And in the church-yard he must take his bride

Who dares be wedded!”

In 1216 this happened in Scotland, when all the churches were closed, and the clergy ceased to exercise their functions, except the Cistercian monks, who were allowed to perform Divine Service for some time; but they also were at length suspended.

may receive the fruit of their good deeds, and obtain at the hands of the Righteous Judge the rewards of eternal peace. AMEN.

In the year 1246, the same Pope granted to the Abbot and Convent, at their request, another Bull, dated at Lyons, confirming them in the protection of their persons, monastery, tithes, lands, granges, and other possessions, subject to the regulations of any future Council respecting tithes.*

ABBOT RALPH died in 1251, and was succeeded by ABBOT JOHN, who had formerly been Prior of the monastery in the Isle of May, and had afterwards become a monk of Balmerino. His reign as Abbot was brief, since he resigned his office—for what cause is unknown—the following year, when he was succeeded by ABBOT ADAM, who, before his elevation, had been Porter of Melrose Abbey,† and was at this time, apparently, well advanced in years.

Careful of the interests of his new charge, ABBOT ADAM caused to be registered in the Abbey Chartulary no fewer than four Papal Bulls, which had been granted on the 22d of August, 1253; by Pope Innocent IV., confirming the privileges of all the monasteries of the Cistercian Order.‡

From one of these Bulls we learn that deviations from duty on the part of the Monks were punished with suitable penance both by the general Chapter of the Order, and by the Chapters held daily in each monastery. This is stated as a reason why the monks should be exempted from the jurisdiction of bishops.

In another Bull His Holiness waxes quite eloquent on the piety of the Cistercian order, declaring it to be “a treasury of virtues, pleasing in the sight of the Eternal King, and gracious in the eyes of men; like a dove, gentle and humble, and specially chosen of God; altogether fair; cast-

* Chartulary, No. 61. † Chron. Mailr., pp. 178, 179.

‡ Chartulary, Nos. 60, 62, 65, 69.

ing from it every wrinkle of irregularity, and every stain of deformity : its Superiors showing such watchfulness that no thorns of vice can grow in it, and that it abounds with unfading fertility in the flowers of honour and the fruits of honesty." This curious document proves either that the Cistercian monks had not yet sunk into the irregularities which afterwards characterized all the monastic Orders ; or that the Pope was exceedingly anxious, by magnifying their virtues, to justify to the world the special patronage he extended to them ; which was so amply repaid by their unbounded devotion to the See of Rome.

Another of those Bulls sanctions the practice of bishops, in admitting Cistercian monks to holy orders without their being required to pass any examination ; except in the case of such as may have been notorious for crime or immorality.

The remaining Bull possesses no special interest.

CHAPTER VI. .

ABBOTS ADAM II., WILLIAM DE PERISBY, AND THOMAS.

"The North blew cold ;
And, bidden to a spare but cheerful meal,
I sate among the holy brotherhood
At their long board.
. Some were almost in the prime ;
Nor was a brow o'ercast. Seen as they sate,
Ranged round their ample hearth-stone in an hour
Of rest, they were as gay, as free from guile,

As children ; answering, and at once, to all
The gentler impulses, to pleasure, mirth :
Mingling, at intervals, with rational talk
Music ; and gathering news from them that came,
As of some other world."

ROGERS.

THE infirmities of age compelled ABBOT ADAM to resign in 1260. He was succeeded by another of the same name, a Monk of his house, who filled the office for ten years.*

In thus arriving at the commencement of a new reign in the Monastery, we must express our regret that its annals, so far as they are now known, are somewhat barren of events. Of the long period of three hundred and thirty years which elapsed from its foundation to its suppression, there are few records now in existence, save the enumeration which its Chartulary contains of its property and privileges. Even the list of its Abbots, with all the notices of them which can be gathered from other ancient documents, is imperfect ; and, with two or three important exceptions, they do not make any great figure in the pages of history. And yet there must have taken place, during those centuries, many events, which, if known, would excite our interest. We would gladly ascertain what changes happened in the fortunes of the Abbey ; its architectural history ; the number of its inmates at different periods ; and their relations to each other, and to the outer world. But though details are wanting, we may form for ourselves some idea of the life of the monks during those long ages. While Scotland was engaged in that protracted struggle for independence which was forced upon it by the ambition of English princes, and while the unfortunate Stewarts successively filled the throne, and rebellious barons were involving the country in perpetual discord and bloodshed ; it is pleasing to picture the brethren

* Chron. Mailr., p. 185.

of this retired monastery, in which they had found a refuge from the evils of the times, spending their tranquil lives in the performance of their daily devotions in the Abbey Church, and in exercises of fasting and penance ; in the study of sacred music, in which they were great proficient ; the transcription of ancient books ; the repair or enlargement of the monastic buildings, and studies of art connected therewith ; the cultivation of their fields ; the improvement of their fruit trees ; varied at times with hunting and hawking in the woods, or the capture of salmon and sparlings in the Tay ; with little more to disturb them than an occasional dispute with the bishop of the diocese about their spiritual privileges, or with another monastery, or some lay proprietor about the marches of their lands, or the payment of their tithes. Now a new Abbot would fall to be elected, or a new candidate would present himself for admission into the fraternity ; and again, an aged brother would be taken to his rest, and the graves of their predecessors would be increasing in number. Let us indulge the hope that erroneous as the monastic system was, not a few of the brethren yet found within the cloister that refuge from the snares and temptations of the world, and were successful in training their souls in that piety, for which they had assumed the monkish garb.

But the life of the cloister was not all retirement. The more distant possessions of the Abbey would require to be attended to. Visits, also, would be paid and received. Great barons, and even the sovereign himself would occasionally be entertained as guests of the Abbot. At times a special journey to Rome would be undertaken to procure some coveted privilege from the Pope, or the redress of some grievance to which the House had been subjected ; while the Abbot himself, would, once in every four years, or perhaps less frequently, have to proceed to France to attend the general chapter of the Order, and consult for the common welfare. Eagerly would his re-

turn be expected in the monastery, and long would his budget of foreign news and adventures form topics of conversation. His visits to Edinburgh, or other residences of the Court, in order to take his place amongst bishops and abbots, barons and burgesses, in the deliberations of Parliament would keep the Monks informed in regard to the public events of the day. Often, too, would the brethren, seated round the Convent fire, listen with rapt attention to the stories brought from the outer world by some far-travelled pilgrim, to whom they had given shelter and hospitality for the night. We must not suppose that the existing Records furnish any adequate measure of the variety of the events which took place, affecting the monastery and its inmates. There would be no want of "mildly-exciting" episodes in their somewhat monotonous life. As a great landholder, also, the Abbey would be interested in, and be an object of interest to the whole of the neighbouring district; while the rustics, as they passed the stately pile, with its beautiful and spacious Gothic church rearing its holy spire towards heaven, and surrounded by tall, venerable trees, would be reminded of another world, for which the good Cenobites had, whether rightly or wrongly, retired from the trials and duties of the present.

But to proceed with our history. Amongst the benefactors of the Abbey, not the least liberal was the ancient family of Kynners of Kynner.* Symon de Kynner grants to the Monks half of his land of Kynneir (that now called Wester Kinneir), the boundaries of which, as being of considerable local in-

* Sibbald says that the Kinneirs "have a charter by King Alexander II. I find one Willielmus de Kiner in King William's time." We have here an illustration of the origin of surnames. Land-owners were called after their possessions—as indeed they still are in familiar conversation in Scotland. Persons in *humble* life received surnames from their trade, as Smith, &c.; from their complexion, as Black, &c.

terest, we give in full :—"Beginning on the west side of Kynner, viz., at the Glac, and running as far as the Rock ; and thence descending to the Well ; and from the Well to the Mothric by the ancient marches, and so on to Kethyn ; ascending thence to the site of the Mill, including its privilege of water for driving the Mill ; and thence ascending as far as the Cross ;* and from the Cross by Kethyn to the Great Stone ; and from the Stone to the Hill ; and from the Hill to the Glac." Symon grants also the "common pasture pertaining to the said land, excepting six acres of land belonging to the Hospital [of St John of Jerusalem], and two acres of meadow belonging to the Laird on the west side." He afterwards repeats these grants with consent of his wife Amia, whom he had apparently married in the interval ; and, with consent of the same, adds "the land on the east side of, and nearest to Kinner," which is thus bounded :—"Ascending from the site of the Mill by the dry ground, and going round Inchelyn and Wetslac ; and thence ascending to the Well of Langside ; and thence ascending to the White Rock on the east side of Cragnagren ; and proceeding thence by the just boundaries as far as the Well of Munbuche ; † and from Munbuche to the Glac ; and thence descending to Wester Kethyn by the just marches to the White Cross ; and thence descending by the stream through the site of the old Mill to the marsh." Amongst the witnesses to these charters are several of the neighbouring clergy : William, parson of Flisk ; Adam, chaplain of Kilmanyn ; Robert of Cullessyn, chaplain of Fliske ; William, chaplain of Lokeris [Leuchars]. The King confirms these grants at Selkirk, the 21st of September 1260 ; reserving his own servitude.‡

* It was anciently customary to set up stone Crosses to mark the boundaries of lands.

† Munbuche. The Arbroath Register interprets this Gaelic word (which occurs also in its charters) as equivalent to Monboy, and meaning *Yellowpool*. (Miller's "Arbroath and its Abbey, p. 6.")

‡ Chartulary, Nos. 12, 13, 14, 15. The charter of confirmation says

In 1261 Pope Urban VI. granted to the whole Cistercian Order exemption from secular taxes imposed by kings and others—a privilege which had already been conferred on Balmerino Abbey by its Foundation charter, in respect of the lands therein mentioned. Notwithstanding this exemption, the Cistercians in course of time paid taxes, but under protest. In 1263 the same Pope granted to the Cistercians the right to tithes from newly reclaimed lands in those parishes in which they drew the old tithes.

In 1268 Henry de Hastings grants to the Abbey his share of a burgage property in Dundee, lying between the burgage of Henry de Downy and that of Roger del Wend.*

ABBOT ADAM II. died in 1270, and in his place was chosen WILLIAM DE PERISBY.†

At the request of this Abbot and the Convent, Pope Gregory granted them, in 1272, a new Bull of protection for their persons, monastery, and property.‡

The Council of Lyons having, in 1274, imposed a tax of one-tenth of all church benefices during the six following years for the relief of the Holy Land, the Pope sent Boiamund of Vicci, in 1275, to collect the subsidy in Scotland. The Scottish clergy petitioned, but without effect, that this tax should be levied—as had hitherto been usual with church taxes—according to the old conventional valuation called the *Taxatio Antiqua*. Boiamund assessed the clergy according to the *Verus valor*, or actual worth of their benefices at that time; and the Roll of Valuation then drawn up served for the apportionment of Church taxes until the Reformation. It evidently gives the valuation in round sums,

“the 12th year of our reign.” As Kinner is not mentioned in the Papal Bull of 1242-1246, we conclude it was in the reign of Alexander III., and not that of Alexander II., as is assumed in the Index to the Chartulary, which assigns the date to 1226.

* Chartulary, Nos. 68, 63, 82. † Fordun, II., 113. Ed. Goodall.

‡ Ibid. No. 66.

according to a roughly graduated scale. The Abbacies of Balmerino and Corsraguel were each valued at £533, 6s. 8d.*

We have no certain information as to the time of the death of Abbot William de Perisby. But a melancholy occurrence in which an Abbot of Balmerino was concerned, refers in all probability to him. It is thus related by Fordun :—"In the year 1281 Margaret, daughter of King Alexander III., was espoused to Hanigow, or Eric, King of Norway ; and leaving Scotland on the 12th of August, she crossed the sea in noble style, accompanied by Walter Bullock, Earl of Menteith, and his Countess ; and also by the Abbot of Balmerino and Bernard de Monte-alto [Mowat], and many knights and nobles. After the celebration of the nuptials, the said Abbot and Bernard, and many other persons, in returning home, were drowned. But Earl Walter and his wife, with their whole family, returned in safety from Norway to Scotland"†—ap-

* For the purpose of comparison we subjoin a few of the valuations of other Abbeys, &c.:—Chartreux, Glenluce, Culross, and Iona, each £666; Scone, Cupar (Angus), and Lindores, each, £1,666, 13s. 4d.; Melrose, £2400; Dunfermline Abbey and St. Andrews Priory, each £3333, 6s. 8d.; Arbroath Abbey, £4000. The archbishopric of St. Andrews, £3333; the bishoprics of Dunblane, Galloway, Brechin, Caithness, and Orkney, each £666; Argyle, £293.

Valuation of Parish Churches in this district:—Vicarage of Leuchars, £66, 13s. 4d.; of Forgan, £33, 6s. 8d.; of Kilmany, £30; of Cupar (Fife) £53, 6s. 8d. The Rectory of Flisk, £100; of Cults, £66, 13s. 8d. Creich and Logie are not given.

A "Valuation of the Scottish Prelacies in the Camera at Rome" (A.D. 1492-1550) shows that an alteration in the relative values of these benefices had by that time taken place. *Then* Balmerino Abbey was valued at 200 ducats; Culross at 100; Cupar at 100; Lindores at 333; Dunfermline at 250; Arbroath at 600; Melrose at 800; Scone at 250.—(Robertson's *Statuta Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, vol. i., pp. lxx.-lxxi.)

† Fordun's *Scotochronicon* II., 125.

parently in another ship. Father Hay supplies some additional particulars of this disaster. He states that the ships were shattered to pieces on the rocks, and that our Abbot was swallowed up by the waters after he had for some time been clinging to a broken mast. This sad event is generally supposed to have been the occasion of "the grand old ballad of Sir Patrick Spence,"* as Coleridge calls it; "the most ancient ballad of which we are in possession," in the opinion of Mr Finlay and others. No apology will be required by the reader for the insertion here of this justly celebrated composition, which, in all probability, refers to the death of our Abbot, William de Perisby, though it may have been written in a subsequent age.†

BALLAD OF SIR PATRICK SPENS.

The King sits in Dunfermline town,
Drinking the blude-red wine;
"O whaur shall I get a skeely skipper,
To sail this ship of mine?"

Then up and spake an eldern knight,
Sat at the King's right knee;
"Sir Patrick Spens is the best sailor
That ever sailed the sea."

The King has written a braid letter,
And seal'd it with his hand,
And sent it to Sir Patrick Spens,
Was walking on the strand.

* This opinion, since its adoption by Motherwell ("Minstrelsy, Ancient and Modern," 1827), has been generally acquiesced in, to the exclusion of the previous theories of Sir Walter Scott and others. The author of the ballad and the date of its composition are unknown. A recent attempt to prove it to be the production of Lady Wardlaw in the early part of last century appears to us to be unsuccessful. (See "The Romantic Scottish Ballads; their Epoch and Authorship," by Robert Chambers, 1859; Professor Aytoun's "Ballads of Scotland," 1858; Norval Clyne's "Romantic Scottish Ballads, and the Lady Wardlaw Heresy," 1859.

† The text here given is that of Aytoun in his "Ballads of Scotland."

"To Noroway, to Noroway,
To Noroway o'er the faem;
The King's daughter to Noroway,
It's thou maun tak' her hame."

The first line that Sir Patrick read,
A loud laugh laughed he,
The next line that Sir Patrick read,
The tear came to his e'e.

"O wha is this has done this deed,
This ill deed done to me,
To send us out at this time o' the year
To sail upon the sea?"

They hoisted their sails on a Monday morn,
Wi' a' the haste they may;
And they hae landed in Noroway
Upon the Wodensday.

They hadna been a week, a week,
In Noroway but twae,
When that the lords o' Noroway
Began aloud to say—

"Ye Scotismen spend a' our King's gowd,
And a' our Queenis fee."
"Ye lie, ye lie, ye liars loud,
Sae loud's I hear ye lie!

"For I brought as much o' the white monie,
As ganet† my men and me,
And a half-fou ‡ o' the gude red gold,
Out owre the sea with me.

"Be 't wind or weat, be 't snaw or sleet,
Our ship shall sail the morn."
"Now ever alack, my master dear,
I fear a deadly storm.

† As will suffice.

‡ The eighth part of a peck.

"I saw the new moon late yestreen,
Wi' the auld moon in her arm ;
And I fear, I fear, my master dear,
That we shall come to harm !"

They hadna sail'd a league, a league,
A league but barely three,
When the lift grew dark, and the wind blew loud,
And gurly grew the sea.

The ropes they brak, and the top-masts lap,
It was sic a deadly storm ;
And the waves came o'er the broken ship,
Till a' her sides were torn.

"O whaur will I get a gude sailor
Will tak' the helm in hand,
Until I win to the tall top-mast,
And see if I spy the land ?"

"It's here am I, a sailor gude,
Will tak' the helm in hand,
Till ye win to the tall top-mast,
But I fear ye'll ne'er spy land."

He hadna gane a step, a step,
A step but barely ane,
When a bolt flew out of the gude ship's side,
And the salt sea it cam' in.

"Gae, fetch a web of the silken claith,
Another o' the twine.
And wap them into the gude ship's side,
And let na the sea come in."

They fetched a web o' the silken claith,
Another o' the twine,
And they wapp'd them into the gude ship's side,
But aye the sea came in.

O laith, laith were our gude Scots lords
To weet their leathern shoon,

But lang ere a' the play was o'er,
They wat their heads abune.

O lang, lang may the ladies sit,
Wi' their fans into their hand,
Or e'er they see Sir Patrick Spens
Come sailing to the land.

O lang, lang may their ladies sit,
Wi' their gowd kaims in their hair,
A' waiting for their ain dear lords,
For them they'll see na mair.

Half owre, half owre to Aberdour,*
It's fifty fathom deep,
And there lies gude Sir Patrick Spens,
Wi' the Scots lords at his feet.

A new Abbot would fall to be elected in 1281, but his name is not certainly known; nor, indeed, are those of several of the subsequent Abbots, nor the length of their reigns: we have only notices of certain Superiors of the monastery at certain dates. Perhaps the next was ABBOT THOMAS, who witnesses a charter granted by Nicholas Hay of Errol (who died about 1303) to the Abbey of Cupar, conferring on that house a bovate of land in the Carse of Gowrie.†

In 1285 King Alexander III. grants to the Abbot and Convent a charter of protection for themselves, their men, lands, and possessions: forbidding any one to molest them,

* Professor Aytoun thinks that "half owre to Aberdour" signifies nothing more than that the vessel went down half-way between Norway and the port of embarkation; and he states that in the island of Papa Stronsay, one of the Orcadian group, lying over against Norway, there is a large grave, or tumulus, which has been known to the inhabitants from time immemorial as "The Grave of Sir Patrick Spens."

† Jervise's "Memorials of Angus and Mearns." This Abbot's name was unknown to the Editor of the Chartulary.

or to take their own, or their men's cattle in pledge in any part of the kingdom, except in royal burghs, and for their own debts: and ordering all Sheriffs and bailiffs to compel such as owe the monks anything, to make just and prompt payment of the same, on proof of their indebtedness.*

In 1286 Henry de Dundee grants a house and garden in Dundee to the Abbey, reserving his own use of it till his death. One of the witnesses is his brother "Adam the barber."†

Symon, son of Symon of Kynner, had given and confirmed to the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem six acres of land in the "Westertown of Kynner," with a house and croft which Mertham, son of Mertham, held, immediately west of the "Brigflat;" and common-pasturage for eighty sheep with their followers, four oxen, four cows, and two horses; subject to the condition that Hugo of Kilmanyn, Symon's "kinsman and most special friend," his heirs, and assignees should hold the said land from the Hospital, paying to it a *reddendo* of twelvecence annually. Hugo then grants these six acres, house, croft, and pasturage to Balmerino Abbey, the *reddendo* of twelvecence being made payable by the Abbey to the Hospital. This grant is confirmed at Balmerino by Sir John de Kynner in the year 1286. Amongst the witnesses to these charters are several of the adjoining proprietors: Henry and John de Dundemor (Denmure); John of Essex; Alexander de Ardiste; William de Forret; William de Ramesay of Clatty; also "the whole community of St. Andrews" witnesses one of the charters.‡

About this time, when probably some important buildings were being erected at the Abbey—perhaps the Chapter-house, the style of which corresponds to that of the period in question—Hugo of Nidyn (Nydie) grants the use of his

* Chartulary, No. 53.

† Ibid. No. 44.

‡ Ibid. Nos. 16, 17, 18.

quarry of Nidyn ; also a free road thereto through his land, viz. : the road leading from the quarry through the "town" of Nidyn, on the west side of St. Gregory's chapel, to the ford of Burglyn, "as I have caused the same to be used by my waggon in presence of my brother Richard, Matthew Marscall, Adam the monk, and many others." He grants also "a toft in the town of Nidyn, in which my mother Maria and my grandmother Gunnyld were wont to live ;" the Monks to have also twenty-four cows' grass on the common pasture of Nidyn. These were, no doubt, the draught animals used for conveying the stones to the Abbey. Richard, Hugo's brother, afterwards confirms the grant.*

William, son and heir of Aeldred de Burthlyn or Burglyn, grants "that old road through his land of Burthlyn, by which the Monks were wont to go with their carts and other carriages to the quarry of Nidyn." "And if it shall happen that the carts and waggons of the Monks shall at any time halt at the ford of Burglyn on account of any hindrance in crossing, he grants them permission in such a case to unyoke and feed their beasts there, and, if necessary, to stay over the night."†

Connected with Nydie is the following, which may be here introduced, though belonging to a somewhat later date. Richard de Nidyn, with consent of his wife Amabilla, grants a portion of land in his tenement of Nidyn, which is bounded "on the east by the landmark placed there, on the west by the cattle road leading from Nidyn, on the north by the King's highway leading to the city of St Andrews, and on the south by the great moor." He gives also grass for two cows, one horse, and sixty sheep on the common pasture of

* Chartulary, Nos. 46, 47. The toft would be required as a lodging-place for the monks or their servants during the night, the journey being too long for the waggons to go and return on the same day. Hence also the necessity for pasture for the draught animals.

† Chartulary, No. 48.

Nidyn. One of the witnesses is John de Haya, lord of Athnauthan (Naughton.)*

On the 17th of March 1289 the Abbot of Balmerino (whose *name*, however, is not mentioned) was present at a Scottish Parliament which assembled at Brigham, on the English side of the border, and agreed to an arrangement for marrying Margaret, the "Maid of Norway," heiress of the Scottish throne, to Prince Edward of England.†

In 1291 the Abbot and Convent address a representation to Pope Nicholas IV., setting forth that certain clerical and lay persons, under pretence of having some complaints against them, seized sometimes the Monks themselves, sometimes their *Converts*, and sometimes their beasts and other property, and detained them till they got whatever satisfaction they pleased, although such persons had neither ordinary nor delegated jurisdiction over them. Whereupon the Pope issues a Bull strictly prohibiting all such seizures and annoyances.‡

At the same time the Pope addresses another Bull to the Bishop of Dunblane, authorizing him to compel certain clerical persons, "religious" as well as "secular," and certain noblemen, knights, and others, of the cities and dioceses of St Andrews and Brechin, who had refused to show to the Abbot and Convent the amount of rents they were bound to pay for lands and other possessions held by them from the monastery, to exhibit the amount of such rents, which constituted the condition of their tenures.§ In explanation of this it may be sufficient to state that it was a principle of the feudal law, that the superior could oblige his vassal to produce his rights when required.

A Pope Nicholas, probably the same Nicholas IV., addresses a Bull to the Abbot alone in answer to a petition

* Chartulary, No. 50.

† Ibid. No. 59.

‡ Acts of Scot. Parl. vol. i.

§ Chartulary, No. 67.

from him praying for a remedy for certain evils existing in the monastery. This document throws a strange and painful cross-light on the life of the cloister. We learn from it that certain of the Monks and converts had fallen into "the snare of excommunication," some by reason of their laying violent hands on themselves; some by retention of their own property, (which was contrary to the monastic principle of a community of goods); and others by disobedience to the Abbot, as well as to his predecessors, or by the crime of conspiracy against him; and that some of those Monks while thus "bound," had performed Divine Service, and received holy orders. The Pope, having full confidence in the Abbot's circumspection, grants him authority to absolve, for this time, those Monks from the sentence of excommunication, according to ecclesiastical form.*

CHAPTER VII.

ABBOTS WILLIAM II., ALAN II., HUGH, JOHN
DE HAYLIS, AND RICHARD.

"Years roll on years; to ages, ages yield;
Abbots to Abbots, in a line, succeed:
Religion's charter their protecting shield
Till royal sacrilege their doom decreed."

BYRON.

ABBOT WILLIAM II. is the next ruler of the Monastery whose name we meet with. He swears fealty to Edward I. of

* Chartulary, No. 64.

England, at Berwick, on the 28th August 1296, like so many others of the Churchmen and barons of Scotland about that time.* Edward was at Lindores on the 9th of the same month and year, and passed thence to St Andrews on the 11th. At Berwick he held a Parliament where he received the homage of all the principal men of the kingdom.

The Abbey had house property in Castle Street (*in vico castellano*), Dundee, and the Monks being greatly in need of a place of lodging and entertainment when they went to that town, which, also, they would often have to pass through on their way to Barry, Abbot William and the Convent "grant, for the convenience of their House, to William Welyeuyth and his heirs that piece of ground lying between the ground of Roger del Wend on the east, and the vennel on the west, which Norman of Castle Street gave to them in charity." "The *reddendo* to be eleven shillings of good and legal sterlings annualy."† "And the said William and his heirs shall provide for us and our successors sufficient 'hostilage' on the said ground as often as we, or any of our brethren, may happen to repair to the said burgh on the business of our House."‡ It was a common practice for

* Ragman Rolls, p. 116; Nisbet's Heraldry, Appendix. Thomas, Abbot of Lindores, swore fealty to Edward on the same day. Edward had been at Lindores also on the 23d June 1291, when John, Abbot of that house, swore allegiance to him.

† This term, "which originally had reference to the eastern country of the early English moneyers, was afterwards applied to all money of a certain weight and fineness, wherever coined. This was the *denarius*, the well-known penny of Silver." (Innes's "Sketches," &c., p. 111.)

‡ Chartulary, No. 55. In 1552 a feu-charter of certain lands at Barry was given to Robert Forrester, and the *reddendo* included the furnishing a house to the Abbot and his factors when they went thither to keep their courts. There was there also a piece of ground called the "Abbot's Horseward."

monasteries to have such lodging-places, provided with all needful apartments and furniture, in the various towns to which their inmates were in the habit of repairing.

In 1315 the Abbot of Balmerino (whose name is not mentioned) at a meeting of what was virtually a Parliament, held in the Parish Church of Ayr, signed, along with many others, a declaration to the effect that Edward Bruce ought to succeed Robert Bruce as King, failing heirs male of the latter.*

The next Abbot whose name occurs is another ALAN, who is omitted in Mr Turnbull's List. In 1317 Abbot Alan and the Convent grant to Gregory de Schyrham two pieces of burgage land in Dundee; the *reddendo* to be forty shillings annually, payable, as was usual, one half at Whitsunday, and the other at Martinmas. Besides the Common Seal of the Chapter, that of Abbot Alan himself was appended to one of the documents connected with this transaction.†

In 1318 King Robert Bruce, having inspected the charters of the Abbey, and learned therefrom the privileges conferred by King Alexander on the Abbot and Monks, "and their men inhabiting their lands," viz., their freedom from "aids, armies, secular services, taxes," &c., approves and confirms the tenor of the said charters by a deed dated at Scone, the 12th of June.‡ A month later the King grants and confirms to the Abbey the whole of his fishings "de le Stok," on the north side of the Tay (near Perth), with the right of fixing stakes for hanging and drying their nets on the ground nearest thereto.§

William de Candela, whose name occurs in a document elsewhere about the year 1270, and whose ancestor, a Norman Knight of the same name, had obtained from David

* Robertson's Index to Charters.

† Chartulary, No. 54.

‡ Chartulary, No. 34.

§ Ibid. No. 57.

I., about 1130, a gift of the lands of Anstruther, (from which place the family afterwards took the surname of Anstruther,) had granted to the Abbey a piece of ground, fifty yards in length, on the East side of Anstruther between the Crail road and the sea; the *reddendo* to be half a merk annually. His son Henry adds* to this grant another of grass for four cows and one horse in the common pasture of Aynstoyir; the *reddendo* to be a hundred herrings from every barrel; the Monks and their assignees, however, if they hold the said land *in capite*, to be exempted from this payment. But the "men" of the said "Religions" must freely communicate with Henry's men in buying and selling.

In 1331 John de Dundemor grants to the Monks the use of all the water running through his land of Dunberauch, with permission to convey it to their mill of Petgornoch, and to dig turf for making and repairing the channel. He further subjects himself and his heirs to a penalty of ten pounds to be paid "towards the subsidy for the Holy Land, or to the fabric of the Church of St Andrews," should they contravene this grant.†

Between 1328 and 1332 John de Haya, lord of Athnauthan (Naughton), grants a charter concerning a piece of ground lying between his land of Galuran (Gauldry) and the Abbey land of Duchwarner (Dochrone), the right to which had been the subject of a long standing dispute between his family and the Abbey. To put an end to all disputes, and for the welfare of his soul &c., by this charter he renounces, for himself and his heirs, whatsoever right he has to the said land, and makes it over to the Monks for all time coming. The ground is thus bounded—"Beginning on the west side of the village of Galuran, where his land and theirs meet, and extending eastward along the ancient King's highway leading to the Ferry of Portinkrag; and from the said highway

* Chartulary, No. 49.

† Ibid. No. 52.

southwards in a straight line to a certain well called "Bridiis Wel;" and thence to a certain stone lying on the moor; and thence to the marches of Kilmanyn; and thence to a certain footpath called Scongate; and then ascending along this footpath to the west side of Galuran already mentioned."* This is the first mention of Gauldry we have met with; but that village is thus proved to have existed for at least five hundred and thirty years.

Sometime before 1356 Davit de Berkeley, lord of Brechin, and his spouse Margaret, grant to the Abbey their fishing on the Tay, in Angus, called Cruchuc, lying between Partinkrag and Dundee.† These boundaries show that Partinkrag was the name then applied to what is now called Broughty Ferry: and this is confirmed by similar language in the Register of Arbroath Abbey. In Douglas's "Peerage" this fishing is stated to have belonged to Berkeley's lands of Lindores and Cairney.

This grant of the fishing of Cruchuc is the last of the benefactions recorded in the existing Chartulary of the Abbey. But several other possessions of the monastery, not so recorded, still remain to be mentioned.

The Abbey possessed thirty acres of land near Crail, called Gastoun. These lands were conferred by Alexander II., in 1233, on Walter, the "Messenger" to the lately deceased Queen Ermengarde, and probably in fulfilment of Her Majesty's wishes. They were then called Drumrauach, and are described as lying "in the moor of Crail, near to the lands of Isaac of Drumrauach, and on the east side of them." They afterwards passed into the possession of William of Galliston, who either gave his own name to them, or derived his name from them. In 1278 he resigned them to Sir John Hay of Balcomy; and he afterwards to Adam Marescall. As the charter by which the Abbey acquired these lands is wanting

* Chartulary, No. 51.

† Ibid. No. 45.

in the Chartulary (which, however, contains the other documents relating to them), the donor and date are unknown.*

The Abbey possessed also Gadvan, or Gadden, in Dunbog parish, including a small building or Preceptory, which occupied the site of the present House of Dunbog, with twenty-four acres of land now forming its park and enclosures.† Here a few Monks resided, and cultivated the land, till their establishment was broken up by the Reformation. Johnstoun, in the same parish, also belonged to the Abbey. In the Register of the Abbey of Arbroath, on which house the church and tithes of Dunbog parish were conferred by the Earl of Buchan in the reign of Alexander II., there is mention made, under date 1486, of the tithes of Johnstoun, and of those of the "acres of the Prior of Dunbolg" as belonging to that Abbey. When, or by whom these lands were conferred on Balmerino Abbey does not appear; but as the Bull of Pope Innocent IV. does not specify them, they must have been acquired after the middle of the thirteenth century. The "Prior of Dunbolg" was, doubtless, the Abbot's deputy superintending the establishment there.

We have a notice of a "Tack of the Teinds of Lochleven by Abbot Robert to James, Earl of Morton, A.D. 1530,"‡ from which it appears probable that the Abbey possessed tithes at that time at Lochleven.

Rent-Rolls of the Abbey dated after the Reformation contain "the lands of Carpullie [or Carpowie] lying betwixt the lands of Dunmure and Quarrelhop on the ane and oyr. parts;" "the lands of Lochymilne [or Lochmyle], with the

* Chartulary, Nos. 41, 42, 43. Galliston is probably a corruption of Gallows' Town.

† A small portion of this land is comprehended in the glebe of Dunbog.—(New Stat. Acc.)

‡ Laing's Ancient Scottish Seals. We have not met with any other mention of this. There is probably some mistake in the name of the place, as the Abbey possessed no church in that district.

milne and loch thereof lying in the barony of Abernethie;" Nether Aberargie [Aberdargie?]; and Polgaigny; besides salmon fishings.* Certain portions of land in Balmerino parish, which did not at first belong to the Abbey, must have been afterwards acquired by it, viz., fifteen acres between Balmerino and Cultra; the lands of Cathills, formerly the property of St. Andrews Priory; and certain lands about Balmerino which once belonged to Thomas de Lundin.†

The Monks had now extensive landed property in several parts of Fife and Angus, burgage possessions in various towns, the revenues of three churches, building materials from the quarry of Nydie, water supply for their several mills, peats from Swansmire, game from their lands of Balmerino and Barry, sea-fish from Anstruther, salmon from the Tay and, perhaps, trout from Lochleven, houses to lodge in when they went to the neighbouring towns,—in short, everything pertaining to a well-endowed Monastery. Most of those benefactions were acquired before the time of Robert Bruce. The age of church endowments was then past, and the Chartularies of other Abbeys as well as that of Balmerino, record few donations after that period, but only the administration of the property previously conferred upon them in more prosperous and peaceful times.

The minute specification of boundaries and privileges which many of the Abbey charters contain, proves that property had acquired a degree of value, and the country an amount of civilization greater than are commonly supposed to have characterised those remote ages. It is asserted by our best informed historians that Scotland was more wealthy and civilized at the death of Alexander III. (1286) than at

* See Appendix, Nos. IX., X., and XII.

† See page 1.

any subsequent period down to the Union with England.* The reigns of William the Lion and the Second and Third Alexanders were eminently happy, and beneficial to the nation. The War of the Succession which followed was the first of many causes which checked the progress of the country for several centuries following.

It is not to be supposed that the large property of the Abbey was devoted to the sole purpose of maintaining, perhaps, five and twenty Monks, with, probably, an equal number of lay brethren, or converts. Their own portions were indeed but scanty. Much would be required for the support of their numerous servants who, along with themselves, were engaged in the work of cultivating their lands, and managing their cattle, mills, and fishings. The Abbey buildings, too, would from time to time be receiving additions and repairs; and we may suppose that no expense would be spared in beautifying the Abbey Church, though it was not the practice of monasteries to expend much on the fabric of *other* Churches which had been given to them as sources of revenue. The Abbot's outlay in the maintenance of his own dignity, as well as in entertaining distinguished guests; in attending Parliament; and in his visits to the parent monastery of Citeaux, would be considerable;

* The prosperity of the country at the death of Alexander III., and the change caused by that event, are referred in the following lines preserved by Wynton, and supposed to be the oldest fragment of Scottish poetry extant:—

Quhen Alysander oure kyng was dede,
That Scotland led in luwe and le,*
Away was sous † of ale and brede,
Of wyne and wax, of gamyn and gle;
Oure gold was changyd into lede,
Cryst borne into virginyte,
Succor Scotland and remede,
That stad ‡ is in perplexyte.

* Love and law.

† Plenty

‡ Standing.

while much would, no doubt, be spent in charity to the poor, for which Monks were celebrated.

At first the Monks kept their lands in their own hands; and, when these were at some distance from the Abbey, they were cultivated from Granges, or spacious farm-steadings, where were collected their cattle and implements, as well as their servants with their families. A Monk or lay brother usually superintended a Grange. The "Grange" in this Parish, no doubt, served such a purpose for all the Abbey lands on the south side of the hill. The "Grange of Barry" served a similar purpose in connection with the Abbey lands there. Subsequently, the practice became common of granting leases of their lands to tenants. The Abbey Forester, whose office was usually hereditary, seems to have lived near the present mansion of Birkhill, where certain lands were styled Forester's lands as late as the seventeenth century.

ABBOT HUGH witnesses a charter by Thomas the Senescal, Earl of Angus and lord of Bonkyll, to Andrew Parker, burgess of Dundee, of the lands of Kingennie, &c., which is ratified by David II. on the 10th of August 1368.* Nothing more is known of this Abbot.

King Robert III. (1390-1406) addressed a letter to the Abbot of Balmerino (whose *name*, however, is not stated), ordering him to desist from prosecuting in the ecclesiastical courts a case which should be tried in the civil courts.†

ABBOT JOHN DE HAYLIS is the next Superior whose name occurs. He ruled the monastery for at least twenty-eight years, from 1408 to 1435; and seems to have borne a prominent part in the public affairs of his time.

In 1408 we find Henry IV. of England granting to this Abbot a letter of safe-conduct (of which the following is a translation) on his return from France, whither he had gone, perhaps on some embassy :—

* Registr. Mag. Sigill.; and Robertson's Index to Charters.

† Robertson's Statut. Eccl. Scot., vol. i., p. 238.

"Safe-conduct for the Abbot of Balmorenoh, about to return from France.

"The King by his letters-patent, which are to extend to the first of March next, has taken under his safe and secure conduct, and into his special protection, keeping, and defence, John Hayles, Abbot of Balmorenoh in Scotland, in his coming and passing safely and securely out of the kingdom of France, through the dominions of the King of England, towards Scotland, by sea and land, according to his own pleasure, along with twelve horsemen in his company ; and also their horses, goods, and lawful things whatsoever, without any annoyance or demand on the part of the King, or of any other person in his dominions. . . . At Westminster, the 25th October."*

On the 26th of April 1416 another letter of safe-conduct is granted by Henry IV. to this Abbot, John Forester of Corstorfin, knight, and Walter de Ogilby, esquire, with forty horsemen, going to England as Commissioners to treat for the ransom of James I. of Scotland.† On the 19th of August 1423 a Commission is given by Murdoch, Governor of Scotland, to the Abbots of Balmerino, Cambuskenneth, and others as his Ambassadors to treat with those of Henry VI. of England concerning the same business.‡ On the 16th of September of the same year Henry grants another letter of safe-conduct to them, with fifty-four retainers, going to London in the performance of that embassy.§ Like letters are granted to our Abbot and others going to Durham, with a retinue of twenty attendants, on the 13th and 20th of December of the same year.|| And on the 9th of June 1425,

* *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. ii., 189.

† *Ibid.* ii., 217.

‡ A fac-simile of this document may be seen in Anderson's *Diplomata Scotiæ*.

§ *Rotuli Scotiæ*, ii., 239.

|| *Ibid.* ii., 244, 245.

another safe-conduct is issued in favour of him and certain other Ambassadors from King James to the Court of Rome with fifty attendants.* If the incidents and adventures which this Abbot must have met with on those numerous expeditions, and the course of the various public affairs on which he was engaged were fully known to us, his history would, no doubt, be very interesting.

In 1422 we find the Abbot of Balmerino and others chosen as arbiters in a dispute between Sir Andrew Gray, lord of Fowlis, and Sir John Scrimgeour, Constable of Dundee.† In 1424 he was appointed one of the Auditors of the public tax imposed on church lands.‡

In 1435 this Abbot and the Convent enter into an indenture with Bishop Wardlaw (founder of the University of St. Andrews), and the Prior and Convent of St. Andrews, whereby the former shall have in all future time a baptismal font, or baptistery, in the chapel of St. Alus situated within their lands; and may henceforth freely administer in that chapel all the Sacraments to their own servants alone, inhabiting the lands in which the chapel is situated; provided that no other parishioners, without leave asked and obtained from their curates, be admitted to any sacraments there, and that no prejudice in respect of other parochial matters shall accrue to such from this agreement; the Abbot and Convent to pay twenty-six pennies of Scots money annually as Synod and Cathedral dues from this chapel to the Bishop and his successors.§

The above is the first mention we have met with of the chapel of St. Alus, or Ayle. Probably it was then re-

* Rotuli Scotiæ, ii., 253.

† Douglas's Peerage.

‡ Acts of Scot. Parl. This was a tax called the "New Extent," for raising L.30,000 for the liberation of James I. from his captivity of 19 years in England. (See Appendix, No. X.)

§ Denmylne Charters. Balmerino Chartulary, App. No. IV.

cently built. Its site is somewhat uncertain, since no vestige of it remains. From a Precept of Sasine by Abbot Robert in favour of Thomas Wilson, 2nd May 1551, of four oxgates of land near the manor-place (or Mains) of Balmerino, in Naughton Charter chest, it may be concluded that the chapel was situated north of the Manor-place, and probably on the east side of the dell. In a Rent Roll of the Abbey, of a date subsequent to the Reformation,* occurs the following *item*:—"Ane piece of land called St. Tailis Chapell, wt. kisle [kyln ? or kirk ?] aiker, set to Beaton of Balfour for £1." That this was not an ordinary chapel of ease appears from the fact, that those who attended such chapels (which were generally situated in the more remote corners of Parishes for the convenience of the people), were yet obliged to attend the Parish Church (which, as we have seen, was also called the "Mother Church," or the "Baptismal Church," because baptism and other sacraments were administered in it alone), at the stated festivals of Easter, Christmas, and others; whereas in the present instance the bishop granted the right of administering the sacraments in the chapel. It was, therefore, rather as a substitute for the Abbey Church than as an addition to it, that St. Ayle's Chapel would seem to have been used. It is probable that the population residing on the Abbey lands had so much increased during the two centuries which had elapsed since the foundation of the Abbey, as to render their admission into the Abbey Church inconvenient to the Monks, for whose daily devotions it was primarily intended.

In 1436 three Cardinals, the Prior of St. Andrews, and the Abbots of Kelso, Melrose, and Balmerino, were ordered by the Pope to see to the execution of a Bull for restoring to his livings Croyser, Archdeacon of Teviotdale and Nuncio of the Pope, who had been stripped of his benefices by Parliament, and found guilty of treason for citing to Rome the

* See Appendix, No. IX.

Bishop of Glasgow to answer for his conduct in promoting, as Chancellor, statutes hostile to Churchmen.*

John de Haylis was in all probability succeeded by ABBOT RICHARD, who witnesses a protestation by the Abbot and monastery of Melrose against appearing in the King's court for the lands of Kinross, 8th May 1441.†

In 1445 Abbot Richard was one of thirty-six persons (of whom six were Bishops, and nine were Abbots), who were deputed by Parliament to hear the claim of the prelates that the Papal Bull might be enforced in Scotland for the abolition of an old custom, whereby the *personal* estate of a bishop lapsed to the Crown at his death. The claim of the prelates was granted.‡

Abbot Richard was still in office in 1459, as appears from an agreement into which he entered with the Abbot of Arbroath regarding a piece of ground in Perth which had been a subject of dispute between them, and which they chose eight arbiters to settle. One of the witnesses to the bond of agreement is "Brother John Musselburgh, Professor in Sacred Theology, and Vicar General of the Cistercians." §

In 1459 King James II. granted to the Abbey a charter confirming that given by Alexander II. in 1234, and in similar terms, defining the boundary of the Abbey lands in Balmerino parish.||

An arrangement is entered into in 1464 by the Abbeys of Balmerino and Arbroath respecting the church of Barry, which, as we have seen, had been the subject of a treaty between these Houses upwards of two centuries before. The

* Robertson's Statuta Eccles. Scot., vol. i., p. lxxxiv.

† Liber de Mailros, p. 565.

‡ Robertson's Statuta Eccles. Scot., vol. i., p. civ.

§ Register of Arbroath. Balmerino Chartul. App. No. V.

|| Reg. Sigill. Mag. See p. 64.

matter of controversy now is "the ordinary and extraordinary episcopal burdens due by, and the repairs of, the church of Barry;" and the agreement is to the effect that Arbroath Abbey shall pay all episcopal burdens attaching to that church "according to the convention made of old between them;" viz., the procurations of the bishop and archdeacon,* the expenses of the archdeacon and dean, the "charitable subsidy," and the pension of the chaplain or vicar due by ancient use and wont. Arbroath Abbey shall also now properly repair, for this time only, the choir of the church within and without, at sight of the Bishop of Brechin and the Dean of Angus; and shall pay to Balmerino Abbey twenty shillings annually, which the latter shall levy from the lands of the former in the North Ferry of the Water of Tay. And in future Balmerino Abbey shall uphold the choir of Barry Church, and pay all its other burdens. The deed of agreement † is executed at Dundee in presence of Patrick, Bishop of Brechin, the "magnificent and powerful lord, David, Earl of Crawford, and many great and discreet men."

"William Bell, Abbot of Balmerino," is mentioned by Father Hay ‡ as witnessing a deed in the Arbroath Abbey Register in 1469. There is, however, great doubt of the correctness of this statement, as the printed Registers of that house do not contain his name.

* The "procurations" were payments in money made to the Bishop by the Rectors of Parish Churches in place of the entertainment which they had to provide for him when he visited the churches in his diocese in person.—(Robertson's Statut. Eccl. Scot., vol. i., p. clxxxviii.)

† Old Register of Arbroath. Balmerino Chartul. App. No. VI.

‡ MS. in Advocates' Library, Tome i., p. 204.

CHAPTER VIII.

A B B O T R O B E R T.

"Inversion strange! that unto One who lives
For self, and struggles with himself alone,
The amplest share of heavenly favour gives;
That to a Monk allots, both in the esteem
Of God and man, place higher than to him
Who on the good of others builds his own."

WORDSWORTH.

BETWEEN ABBOT RICHARD and ROBERT, the last regular Superior of the House, a long blank occurs, which we are unable to fill up. Abbot Robert's name appears in various charters and other documents from 1526 to 1559. But before proceeding to relate the events of his time, we must take a retrospective glance at the preceding period.

In the course of the fifteenth century (says Morton) "it appears that the discipline of the cloister had fallen into great neglect and disuse throughout Europe.* The renunciation of property, abstinence, and simplicity in food and clothing, and other artificial virtues strictly enjoined by the monastic rules were now rarely practised. Not only the Abbots and other Superiors kept luxurious tables, dwelt in magnificent halls, wore costly garments, and were attended by youth of good families as pages, in rich liveries, but the

* As early as 1424 James I. addressed a letter to the Abbots and Priors of the Benedictine and Augustinian monasteries in Scotland, "exhorting them in the bowels of the Lord Jesus Christ to shake off their torpor and sloth, and set themselves to work to restore their fallen discipline, and rekindle their decaying fervour, so that they might save their Houses from the ruin which menaced them."—(Robertson's *Statuta Eccles. Scotic.*, vol. i., p. lxxxix).

private Monks also spurned the sober fare, homely garb, and devout retirement of their predecessors. They kept horses, and upon various pretences, were continually going about in public ; they lived separately, upon portions allowed them out of the common stock ; they bought their own clothes, which were of the finest materials that could be procured ; and the common dormitory, in which they slept, was now partitioned off into separate chambers. Various attempts were made by the General Chapter at Citeaux to correct, or stem the increase of those abuses, which, if all contemporary accounts are to be believed, were the least of the delinquencies of the Monks. By the injunction of Pope Innocent VIII. (1484-1492) the General Chapter commissioned John Schanwell, Abbot of Cupar, to visit and reform the Cistercian Monasteries in Scotland, when he deposed the Abbots of Melrose, Dundrennan, and Sweet Heart Abbey. The privilege of electing their own Superiors, originally enjoyed by all the monastic communities, fell also into disuse, and became a mere form : the power itself being virtually exercised by the King. This practice commenced about the year 1474, and was soon followed by that of granting the revenues of Religious Houses *in commendam* to bishops, to secular priests, to laymen, and even to infants.”*

The office of Abbot's Bailie, who exercised the civil and criminal jurisdiction, called the *regality*, which belonged to the Abbot as temporal lord of the Abbey lands, was, as has been already stated, usually bestowed on some lay proprietor in the vicinity of the Abbey. It was an office of considerable importance, and was given only to those who were firm

* Morton's "Monastic Annals of Teviotdale," pp. 95, 238. A Commendatory Abbot before the Reformation enjoyed but a third part of the revenues of the Abbacy—the rest being allotted to the maintenance of the Monks. The Prior, in such cases, administered the monastic discipline, and the monks were not subject to the Commendator. The latter personage, however, had the appointment of the Prior.—(Forbes on Tithes).

friends of the Church. It would appear that the lands belonging to Balmerino Abbey were, at least latterly, divided into two Baileries—that of Balmerino, in which were probably included all its possessions in the counties of Fife and Perth; and the Bailiery of Barry, embracing its lands in Forfarshire. The names of the *early* holders of those offices are unknown. The first who come into notice are the Bailies of Barry. Sir Thomas Maule of Panmure* got a Commission or Tack of this Bailiery from the Abbot in 1511, which was afterwards renewed four or five times to the same family. We have no certain information as to the holders of the Bailiery of Balmerino before the Reformation; but from the terms of a charter of this office which John Kinneir of that Ilk received under the Great Seal in 1599, it would appear probable that it had been long previously in his family, whose ancestors had at an early period been, as we have seen, benefactors of the monastery.

In 1532 we find that Abbot Robert was a member of a Royal Commission chiefly composed of dignified Churchmen, who were appointed to visit and consider the privileges of the Universities of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen. In the report which they gave in, they stated that they found the Regents and students to be free from all taxation, and recommended His Majesty to confirm this privilege.†

The increasing corruptions of the Church were now calling loudly for reformation. But most of all had the Monks departed from their primitive strictness of life; and Monasteries, originally founded for pious and charitable uses, were turned into nurseries of vice. The literature of the period, as well as the statutes of Church Councils, furnish too plen-

* The contract of the marriage of Sir Robert Maule of Panmure with Elizabeth, daughter of the Earl of Crawford by his wife Margaret Beton, is still extant, dated Balmerino, 8th January 1526.—(Jervise's "Memorials of Angus and Mearns," p. 239).

† St. Andrews University Commissioners' Report, 1837, p. 181.

tiful evidence of the truth of this statement, which has been questioned by some modern writers. The Monks of Balmerino would appear to have been no better than others, and are severely stigmatized by Sir David Lindsay in his "Satire of the Three Estates," which was acted at Cupar-Fife in 1535.*

In 1533 the General Chapter of the Cistercians (we again quote from Morton) "made a new effort to restore their ancient discipline, and a Commissioner was sent to visit and reform the Monasteries of that Order in Scotland. The faults which particularly called forth his animadversions were, however, only their infringements of the rule which forbade the brethren to possess any private property, but to have all things in common. It was found that many of the Monks, especially in the Abbeys of Melrose, Newbottle, and Balmerino, had not only portions and pensions allowed them for their food and clothing, but that each Monk had also a garden appropriated to his own particular use and pleasure. The visitor, therefore, in his Visitation Roll, specified these things as illicit indulgences, which he enjoined them forthwith to relinquish. The Monks in general murmured at this, and some of them excused themselves by saying that it would be time enough for them to enter upon this reform, when the Convent at Melrose, which was the chief House of their Order in Scotland, had set them the example. Next year, therefore, the Grand Chapter gave authority to Donald, Abbot of Cupar, and Walter, Abbot of Glenluce, to charge the Abbot of Melrose, upon pain of deposition, to carry the said reformation into immediate effect, and to punish with excommunication the Monks who, after twenty days' warning, should prove refractory. The reluctant Monks, who evidently regarded the proposed reform as a useless and needless retrenchment of their comforts, met at Edinburgh,

* Chalmers's Ed. of Lindsay's Works, I., 372.

probably by delegates, and addressed the Commissioners in a petition and remonstrance. They denied that they could justly be charged with possessing property, since they had nothing but what the Abbot allowed them, and which they were willing to resign when required by him; and they begged to be permitted to retain the harmless indulgences which their predecessors, for a hundred years past, had enjoyed: alleging that to deprive them of these implied a severe and harsh censure at which their consciences revolted, against those grave and holy men whom they had always been taught to look up to as of more wisdom, prudence, and learning, and better acquainted with the rules of pious living than themselves! In conclusion, they prayed that further proceedings might be delayed until they should have an opportunity of appealing to the General Chapter. The Commissioners assented to their request with certain restrictions, viz. :—(1.) They might retain their private gardens, provided no Monk had a larger one than another, and that a common way was made through all the gardens by opening a passage from one to another; the productions of the whole being made a common stock, and applied to the use of the Convent. (2.) They might enjoy their separate portions; but double portions were forbidden,* and they were not to have the disposal of what might be left, which was to be dispensed to the domestics and others by a proper officer appointed by the community. (3.) They might receive from the bursar (or treasurer) only as much money as would purchase what was immediately wanted, until the Abbot, or a person officially charged, should provide a stock of the necessary articles of clothing. The Abbot of Melrose was to expend immediately 200 merks; the Abbot of Newbottle £100;

* In Lindsay's "Satire of the Three Estates," the Abbot says :—

"My Prior is ane man of great devotion,
Tharfor, daylie, he gettis ane double portion."

and the Abbot of Balmerino 100 merks, Scots money, for this purpose." *

In 1536 an annual tax on Prelates was granted by a Provincial Council of the Church for the maintenance of the College of Justice, or Court of Session, then recently established. The tax amounted to £1423 18s. Of this sum £11 4s. was contributed by the Abbot of Balmerino.†

Balmerino has always been celebrated for the salubrity of its climate, and an incident of the period at which we have now arrived proves that the reputation which it bore in Queen Ermengarde's time was still maintained. The event in question was another royal visit in quest of health. In 1536, King James V., having proceeded to France with the intention of finding a consort in that kingdom, was introduced to the Princess Magdalene, eldest daughter of the French monarch. This lady, according to some authors, had been affianced to him in her childhood. She was, however, in so delicate a state of health as to be obliged to be carried in a chariot; being unable to ride, like the other ladies of the court, on horseback. "Yitt (says Lindsay of Pitcottie) notwithstanding all hir seiknes, fra the tyme shoe saw the King of Scotland, and spak with him, shoe became so enamoured with him, and loved him so weil, that shoe wold have no man alive to hir husband bot he allanerlie." Her affection was reciprocated by the Scottish monarch. Hollingshead says, "She was indeed a pleasant young ladie, beautiful, of good favour, lovelie countenance, and comely manners above all others within that realm." Her health rallied about this time, and though the union was discommended by sage counsellors, it was at length assented to by her father; and the marriage was celebrated in Paris on the 1st of

* Morton's "Monastic Annals of Teviotdale," p. 240, with reference to Harleian MS. 2363.

† Robertson's Statuta Eccles. Scot., vol. i. p. cxxxvi. Miscellany of the Bannatyne Club, vol. ii., pp. 51-53.

January 1537, amid circumstances of great rejoicing and magnificence. After remaining some time at the French court to witness the fêtes which were got up on their account, James and his bride set sail for Scotland, and landed at Leith on the 27th of May. "And when the queen (says Lindsay) was come upon Scottis eard, shoe bowed hir down to the same, and kissed the mould thairof, and thanked God that hir husband and shoe was cum saiff throw the seas." She was received at Edinburgh with splendid shows, and with the reverence and love of the entire people. But the universal joy was destined to be soon quenched in grief. The rest may be told in the words of Miss Strickland:—"After the first pleasureable excitement, caused by the flattering nature of her reception in Scotland, was over, the young Queen began to flag. She could not conceal, either from herself or others, that she was ill at ease. The spring was cold and ungenial, and Edinburgh is about the worst place, on account of the prevalence of east wind and fogs in such seasons, to which a delicate invalid, with a hereditary tendency to consumption, could be brought from a milder climate. Neither of the palaces there were desirable residences for her. Holyrood was as much too damp and low as the Castle, on its lofty rock, was high and bleak. King James saw the expediency of removing her without delay. Being very anxious about her, he made his physicians hold a consultation, in order to select the most salubrious place in his dominions for her particular case. We should have thought they would have recommended the soft air of Rothesay, or the vale of Glasgow; but they decided on a bracing temperature, as appears by the following quaint notice in Martine's History of the See of St. Andrews—"Being a tender lady, the physicians choosed this place (St. Andrews) and the Abbacie of Balmerinoch, as having the best aers of any places in the kingdom, for her residence and abode."

"To Balmerino, therefore, or the Sailors' Town, as its

Celtic name signifies, a picturesque village on the Firth of Tay, Queen Magdalen was removed. She was lodged in the beautiful Abbey which had been founded by her royal predecessor Queen Ermengarde, the consort of William the Lion, out of gratitude for her restoration to health, in consequence of a temporary residence on that spot. The ruins of the Abbey are still to be seen, situated on a gentle eminence above the bold rocky shores of the river Tay. Magdalen derived immediate benefit from the change of air; and perhaps, if she could have been content to remain quietly there for a few weeks or months, equally good effects might have resulted to her as had formerly been the case with Queen Ermengarde. But as King James could not be with her in this monastic house, her desire of his society induced her to return to Holyrood, where she could enjoy his company."*

A letter to Queen Magdalen's father, dated the 8th of June 1537, which, Miss Strickland thinks, must have been written after her return from Balmerino, proves that she regarded herself as convalescent, and was hoping for a cure. But forty days after her arrival in Scotland she lay a corpse in Holyroodhouse, having not yet quite completed the seventeenth year of her age. When a young girl, she had declared her wish to be a Queen, whatever her realm might be. She gained her wish for a few weeks, though she was never crowned. All classes lamented her death, and, out of respect to her memory, public mourning was for the first time worn in Scotland. Buchanan, who was an eye witness, says it was the first instance of mourning dresses being used in this country, which, even after forty years, were not very frequent.† It is believed that Queen

* Miss Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 322. While giving the above account by Miss Strickland, we are bound to add that she quotes no other authority for it than the sentence from Martine, which does not positively assert that the projected visit to St. Andrews and Balmerino was accomplished; nor have we found in any contemporary author mention of such a visit.

† *Rerum Scotie. Histor. Lib. xiv.*

Magdalen regarded with favour the doctrines of the Reformers, and had she been spared to her husband and the country, the history of the Scottish Reformation might have borne a different character from that which the actual events assumed under Mary of Guise. Her death was the occasion of Sir David Lindsay's poem, "The Deploratione of the Deith of Quene Magdalene," which is, however, a mixture of fact and fiction. Buchanan wrote a Latin epitaph on her.

King James V. paid a visit to Balmerino Abbey in 1539, as appears from a charter granted by him there, dated the 6th of July of that year.* He seems to have been then living at St. Andrews, where his second consort, Mary of Guise, had borne a son to him a few weeks previous to this visit.

CHAPTER IX.

ABBOT ROBERT. DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERY.

"Threats come which no submission may assuage,
No sacrifice avert, no power dispute;
The tapers shall be quenched, the belfries mute,
And 'mid their choirs, unroofed by selfish rage,
The warbling wren shall find a leafy cage;
The gadding bramble hang her purple fruit."

WORDSWORTH.

HAVING traced the history of the Abbey thus far, we have now to relate the events which led to its suppression. The first blow was dealt to it by the English. It is well known

* The charter referred to is in the possession of David Hunter, Esq. of Blackness.

that determined efforts were made by Henry VIII. of England to unite the crowns of the two kingdoms by means of a marriage between the Scottish Princess, Mary, and his own son, afterwards Edward VI.; while the French King was equally anxious for her union with the Dauphin. The method of conducting the matrimonial suit adopted by the English monarch was no less singular, than likely to defeat his object. He sent fire and sword through Scotland to compel the nation to fall in with his views. The principles of the Reformation were now rapidly spreading in both countries, and the monasteries of England had lately been suppressed.* When Henry's generals entered Scotland, the greatest service they could render to their master was the spoiling of the abodes of the Monks; and thus Religious Houses, which had hitherto been generally respected in times of war, were now the first to suffer. The Earl of Hertford, who conducted an invasion of Scotland in 1543, besides burning Edinburgh and Leith, gave to the flames no fewer than eight monasteries, viz., those of Melrose, Kelso, Dryburgh, Jedburgh, Eccles, Newbattle, Holyrood, and Haddington, as well as many Collegiate and Parish Churches in Lothian, the Merse, and Teviotdale. Several other Religious Houses in Scotland were sacked at Henry's instigation, and even this amount of havoc came short of his desires. The ruins of the above-mentioned magnificent structures are commonly, though quite erroneously, associated in the popular mind with the violence of the Reformers.

After the death of Henry the same policy was carried out by the Protector Somerset, who in 1547 marched into Scotland at the head of a powerful army, and defeated the Scots in the disastrous battle of Pinkie, where 10,000 of the latter fell. Somerset then sent Sir Andrew Dudley with a strong force to secure Dundee, while a considerable fleet, commanded by Admiral Wyndham, seconded his operations. In the

* The *lesser* monasteries in 1536; the *greater* in 1539.

end of September 1547 Dudley took Broughty Castle, and the English soldiers and sailors pillaged the country all around. They also took Dundee, and held it for a short time. It was scarcely to be expected that the Abbey of Balmerino would escape their hostility. An expedition against it was soon resolved upon by the English Admiral.

Choosing for the time of his assault the night of Christmas, on which, he probably judged, the Monks would be fast asleep after their Christmas festivities, the Admiral sailed up the Tay, and landed near the Abbey a force of 300 men, of whom fifty would appear to have been harquebusiers.* The Monks, no doubt aware of the havoc so recently committed on the monasteries in the south of Scotland and elsewhere, had made preparations for an attack from the English fleet, and had mounted for the defence of the Abbey several of the guns called "harquebusses of croke,"† which were probably the same as those otherwise termed "great harquebusses," carrying a ball of three and a half ounces, and used in defending fortresses. These pieces they now turned against the enemy. Some horsemen also were brought out—perhaps the tenants of the Abbey—who must have been placed there against such an emergency. The result of the skirmish which ensued was in favour of the English. Four of the horsemen were killed, and the Abbey was given to the flames. Elated by their success, the victors proceeded to burn the neighbouring villages, and finished their night's work by setting fire to the stackyards which at that season of the year would be collected within the Abbey precincts, as well as in the enclosures of the tenants. The admiral

* The *harquebuss*, *arquebuse*, or *haquebut*, was an old species of gun, of the length of a musket, and cocked by means of a wheel. It carried a ball of nearly two ounces in weight.

† Or "hachotys a coke" in another copy. See Appendix, No. VIII., *note*.

himself seems to have been surprised at the ease with which so strong a place was taken ; which is perhaps to be explained by the supposition that though the Monks had previously prepared for an attack, they were off their guard when it was actually made.

This event must have produced at the time a deep impression on the "parochial mind," and we should have expected that tradition would have kept it alive in the memory of the inhabitants. But strange to say, the fact, not having been noticed by any of the historians of the period, and having, apparently, been overlaid, in the popular recollection, by a subsequent attack made by the Reformers, has been altogether forgotten.*

It may be mentioned that the English sailors afterwards burnt a nunnery at Perth, and that the admiral brought away all the nuns and many gentlemen's daughters. The English also set fire to, and partially destroyed the Church of Dundee. Landing at Ferry-port-on-Craig about this time, they proceeded to burn Leuchars and other adjacent villages ; but several Fife gentlemen, having learned their purpose, got between them and their boats, and, having attacked them with vigour, killed a hundred and sixty of their best men-at-arms and sailors. "Fra that tyme forth (says Lindsay of Pits-

* The event was brought to light by a brief notice of it in the "Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland," vol. i., page 73 (1509-1608), recently published by Government. The original document, which contains the account of the burning of the Abbey, is in the State Paper Office, London, being a lengthy despatch from Admiral Wyndham to Lord Grey, describing his preparations for the defence of Dundee, and other operations, and requesting fresh munition and instructions. It is dated the 27th of December 1547, only two days after the attack. The author is much indebted to the kindness of David Laing, Esq., LL.D., for procuring for him a copy of this document from the State Paper Office. The portion of it relating to the Abbey will be found in Appendix, No. VIII., where it is printed for the first time.

cottie, in relating the event) they desired not to land in Fife." *

It is impossible to state precisely what amount of injury was done to the Abbey buildings during the attack just mentioned. We may presume that no stone walls were pulled down. The conflagration would probably be confined to whatever could be most easily destroyed—movable furniture and wooden materials generally—including the numerous treasures of Art and Learning which the Monks must have accumulated during the space of three centuries, and the destruction of which must excite regret in every intelligent mind. The injury inflicted on the buildings would, no doubt, be partially repaired in the interval between this period and the Reformation, but the Abbey would no longer present its former appearance ;† and the lament of the Prophet would recur to the minds both of Monks and parishioners—" Our holy and beautiful house, where our fathers praised Thee, is burned up with fire ; and all our pleasant things are laid waste."

The duty of preaching having come to be very much neglected by the Clergy, a canon was passed by a Council of the Scottish Church held at Edinburgh in 1547, providing that in every Cathedral Church there should be a Licentiate or Bachelor in Divinity who should preach the Word of God to the people ; and that in every monastery a theologian, " religious " or " secular," should be found and maintained, who should, every day within the monastery, be obliged to read the Scriptures in such way as should be most expedient for the auditors ; and who should preach in the Church attached to the monastery. It may be presumed, therefore, that this was now done in Balmerino Abbey and Church.

In 1549 another Council of the Church ordained that from every monastery a few " Religious," of most capa-

* "Chronicles of Scotland," p. 505.

† No new monks appear to have entered after that year.

city for learning, should, *according to ancient custom*, be sent to the University to study theology for at least four years; which period of study being completed by them, others should be sent in like manner. Three such students were ordered to be sent from St. Andrews Priory, and the same number from Arbroath Abbey; two from Melrose, Cupar, and Dunfermline each; and one from Lindores and Balmerino Abbeys each. The student from Balmerino was to be sent to the University of St. Andrews; and the rectory of Logymurthe (Logie)—that is, the great tithes of that parish—were assigned to him as his maintenance. To the student from Lindores the vicarage of Dundee was assigned. These reforms, though well meant, were too late; and were, besides, wholly inadequate to ward off the ruin which was now impending over the Romish Church in this country.*

For some time after the foundation of the Abbey the Monks, as has already been stated, appear to have kept their lands in their own hands, and to have cultivated them with the aid of their servants. Subsequently the practice was introduced of leasing portions of them to tenants,† and even of granting feus of them. To what extent these practices were carried does not clearly appear; but we have seen that as early as the year 1291 certain portions of the Abbey property had been either leased to tenants, or feued.‡ We find that about the year 1425 it was customary for successive Parliaments to declare that the Church had, amongst other ancient privileges, permission to grant leases of their lands, or of their teinds.§ The rule of the Canon law was, at first,

* Robertson's *Statuta Eccles. Scot.*, vol. i., pp. cxlvi., cxlix., vol. ii., pp. 100-103, 116.

† In 1544 four acres of land, including the tithes, west of Byres of Balmerino, were let for 19 years; and the whole rent was 30s., with 8 poultry.

‡ See p. 92.

§ Tytler's *History of Scotland*.

that the heritable property of the Church could not be alienated either by feu or sale. But the Pope afterwards assumed the power of authorizing alienations, which, without his consent, were void. The Bull of Pope Innocent IV. forbids the monks of Balmerino to alienate their lands without the consent of the majority of the Chapter—leaving it to be inferred that if this consent were obtained, such alienation was valid without any special permission from the Pope. This power of the Pope was never acknowledged in Scotland by express enactment. Alienations were valid only when made with consent of the Crown, which was generally enforced in the rare cases of sale, or donation. Yet feus were common in some monasteries from their first establishment; but as none of our *Chartularies* contain confirmations either by the Crown or Pope, it may perhaps be inferred that this was held to be unnecessary for feus.*

We are inclined to think that the practice of feuing their lands was not adopted to any great extent by the Convent of Balmerino till about the time of Robert, the last Abbot. It was then common both for Church lands and tithes to be let on nineteen years' leases. From the very commencement of his rule Abbot Robert, with the Convent—probably seeing the storm approaching which was soon to sweep away the whole monastic system—began to feu the Abbey lands to the existing tenants and others, for such sums of ready money as they could obtain, reserving only the superiority and annual feu-duties.† In many of the feu-duties granted by them an anxiety is observable to specify reasons sufficient

* Connel on Tithes. Yet a feu-charter of Ballindean to Paul Stirk was confirmed by the Pope in 1542. Another of half of the Links of Barry, of date 1552, was confirmed by the Pope in 1554; and another of Kilburns in 1540. (*Private Documents*.)

† In this they but followed the example of many other Churchmen of the period. Ineffectual attempts were made in 1560 and 1561 by the Privy Council to check these alienations. Ultimately it was

to justify their alienations, such as the repair, convenience, and advantage of the Monastery, and sums of money received in the great and urgent necessity of the Convent ; while the assertion is made that the Canon law ever permits the feuing of lands and tithes. Between 1526 and 1559, the greater part of the Abbey lands and fishings had thus been alienated.*

It may be here stated that the consent of the majority of the Convent was necessary to give validity to feus. Anciently the affixing of the Common Seal of the Abbey served as evidence of such consent ; since this was never done but at a solemn meeting, when all the members were "chapterly gathered." Latterly, however, to prevent fraud or forgery, subscribing by the Convent was enjoined by Act of Parliament.† There are still in existence, and, generally, in the possession of those whose lands had been originally feued from the Abbey, many feu-charters having the Common Seal of the Convent attached to them, and subscribed by the Abbot and Monks.

The Common Seal, which was of an oval shape, and pointed at the two extremities, contained a full length figure of the Virgin and Holy Child standing within a Gothic niche richly ornamented. At the lower part of the seal was a shield bearing the arms of Scotland. Round the border was the scroll—SIGILLUM COMMUNE SANCTE MARIE DE BALMORYNACH. Translation—THE COMMON SEAL OF ST. MARY OF BALMORYNACH.‡

There is in the Chapter-house, Westminster, a detached

ordained that all feus of Church lands granted before the 8th of March 1558 must have confirmation by the Pope or the King, and those granted after that date must be confirmed by the King : otherwise they would be invalid. It does not appear, however, that this rule was strictly enforced. (See Connel on *Tithes*.)

* See Appendix, No. VII.

† Forbes on *Tithes*.

‡ See Title-page.



of altar of last Pet
1st ego Jacobus m^o 2
2d ego Jacobus Garte m^o 2
3d ego Johannes m^o 2

4th ego Johannes m^o 2
5th ego Johannes m^o 2
6th ego Johannes m^o 2
7th ego Johannes m^o 2
8th ego Johannes m^o 2
9th ego Johannes m^o 2
10th ego Johannes m^o 2

11th ego Johannes m^o 2

12th ego Johannes m^o 2
13th ego Johannes m^o 2
mamgopa

14th ego Johannes m^o 2
mamgopa

15th ego Johannes m^o 2
16th ego Johannes m^o 2

seal of an Abbot of Balmerino—perhaps Alan II. (See page 95.) It is oval-pointed ; and contains the figure of an Abbot with the crozier in his left hand. On the dexter side of the figure there appears to be a fleur-de-lis, and three mullets of six points. The scroll runs thus :—S' ABBIS. SCI. EDWARDI IN SCOZIA. Translation—SEAL OF THE ABBOT OF ST. EDWARD'S IN SCOTLAND.

We meet with the *names* of but few of the common Monks till the time of Robert, the last regular Abbot, to whose reign belong all the charters granted by the Convent before the Reformation which we have seen—perhaps all which are now extant. We present on the opposite page a *fac-simile* of the signatures—fifteen in number—attached to a Tack of four acres of land at Barry, granted by the Monks to Robert Durie, and dated the 24th of October 1537. Subjoined are the names, and other words, printed in full, which may help the reader to decipher the engraving :—

ROBERT, Abbot of Balmerinloch, subscripsit.

Et ego, JACOBUS MYLLER, ad id.

Et ego, JACOBUS HARWOD, ad id.

Et ego, WILLELMUS MOWAT, ad id.

Et ego, JOHANNES BONAR, ad id.

Et ego, ANDREAS CUPER, ad id.

Et ego, ALEXANDER LEYSS, ad id.

Et ego, THOMAS STEYNSON, ad id.

Et ego, ALEXANDER GAGYE, ad id.

Et ego, ANDREAS WEMYSS, ad id.

Et ego, JOHANNES HOGG, ad id.

Et ego, DAVID LOWDEN, manu propria.*

Et ego, JOHANNES HALYBORTONE, manu propria.

Et ego, ALLANUS HAW, ad id.

Et ego, GEORGIUS MATTHOW, ad id.

* As David Lowden and John Halybortone sign, each, *manu propria*, or with his own hand, it might be supposed that the other monks

In other charters about the same period, and subsequently, occur the additional names of ANDREW GAGIE, ANDREW BUTOR, JOHN MILLER, ANDREW GRIG, ANDREW MURRAY, ANDREW LAWTOR, and JOHN YEISTER. *

From the existing feu-charters we learn that the number of the Monks gradually decreased as the Reformation drew near. The above charter of 1537, and another of 1541, contain fifteen names each in all. Others of 1547 and 1550 have eleven each. Another, five years later, has eight subscribers. The names in these documents also show that the common class of Monks at that period were drawn from the humbler ranks of persons living in the neighbourhood. On the other hand, it is well known that the Heads of Religious Houses, as well as the secular clergy, were at this time mostly men of good family.

Any sympathy we might have for Abbot Robert in the calamity which had already overtaken his House, and in the prospect of the impending abolition of his office, as well as of the whole system to which it belonged, is effectually checked by our knowledge of the share he took, in his declining years, in an act of cruel persecution. Walter Myln, who had been parish priest of Lunon, a man venerable for his piety and great age, was tried in 1558 at St. Andrews for heresy, that is, belief in the Reformed doctrines. Foxe informs us that there were present at his trial, and concurring in it, the Abbots of Dunfermline, Lindores, and Balmerino, with many Bishops and doctors. Though eighty-two years of age, Myln made a most able and vigorous defence, which filled all his judges with astonishment. He was found guilty, but no one could be got who, as temporal judge, would pronounce the sentence of death, till a dissolute

could not write; yet it seems improbable that only two out of fourteen were able, in that age, to sign their own names.

* See page 57.

domestic of the Archbishop performed the odious office. Myln was committed to the flames at St. Andrews on the 28th of April 1558, and his death excited universal horror and indignation. From the stake he prayed that he might be the last who should suffer death in Scotland for the Protestant opinions, and his prayer was heard. The principles of the Reformation, which had been struggling for recognition for thirty years, were now at length on the eve of triumph; "the handwriting was on the wall;" and in little more than a year the Abbots of Balmerino and Lindores, as well as others, had to pay a heavy penalty for the assistance they had rendered to the cause of Romish error and intolerance.

It is well known that the Reformation in Scotland was characterized by proceedings of a more lawless nature than in England. In the latter country it was effected mainly by the prerogative of the Crown, and was thus gone about in a more orderly, though, as regards the monasteries, in a scarcely less severe manner than in the northern kingdom. In Scotland, though the movement was headed by the barons, and by many Abbots and Priors, it was opposed by the Court and almost the whole body of the Bishops. The people were very active in the work of reformation, and, roused by the fiery eloquence of Knox, and having at every step to contend with opposition in high places, they gave vent to their hatred of Popery by committing great havoc on some of the monasteries, and stripping a few Churches of images, altars, and other superstitious ornaments. The attack on the Religious Houses, and the purification of Churches commenced at Perth in May 1559. The example there set was followed in Cupar-Fife, Crail, Anstruther, and St. Andrews. Our Abbey was the next to undergo the Reforming process. The event is thus related by Lesley, the period of the visit of the mob to Balmerino being about the middle of June 1559:—"The Earl of Argyle and the Prior of St. Andrews departed from Perth, on the arrival of the Queen there, without her

knowledge, and came to St. Andrews, where they tore down altars and images, the friars' places, kirks, and biggins, with the College Kirk of Heuche, and all other private chapels within the town; and convened a great company of countrymen, and passed to the Abbeys of Lindores, Balmerino, the Parish kirks within Fife, and did the like, and from that to Cupar where they remained." Lesley further ascribes the demolition of our Abbey to "certain most worthless men of the common people." * Knox thus describes the visit of the Reformers to Lindores, where they assembled 3000 strong on a single day's warning:—"The Abbey of Lindores, a place of Black Monks, was reformed; their altars overthrown; their idols, vestments of idolatry, and mass-books were burnt in their own presence; and they commanded to cast away their monkish habits." †

The same difficulty as in the case of the previous attack by the English here presents itself in regard to the amount of injury inflicted by the Reformers on the Abbey buildings, and especially on St. Mary's Church. The Reformers were generally more severe on the abodes of the Monks—"torn down and demolished" are the words used by Lesley in reference to the "monastery"—but it was only in some few and peculiar cases that the fabric of *Churches* was destroyed. ‡

* "Circa 1559 moritur Abbas Balmerinochius, et ibidem monasterium Balmuraeum a levissimis quibusque ex plebe hominibus direptum et demolitum, 1559." Lib. x., (as quoted in Father Hay's MS.)

† Calderwood's History of the Kirk, I., p. 470. (Ed. Wodrow Society.)

‡ The amount of injury caused to *Churches* by the Reformers has been grossly exaggerated by party historians. There is no evidence that any Cathedral Church was demolished by them. (See Burton's Hist. of Scotland, IV., pp. 68, 69.) The General Assembly made strenuous efforts to have the ancient Cathedrals and other Churches preserved and repaired. The present ruinous state of so many of our Cathedrals and Abbey Churches is to be ascribed to very differ-

The practice of the Reforming mobs was merely to purge the Churches of "monuments of idolatry and superstition;" and if we are to judge of their work at Balmerino by their doings at Lindores, as described by Knox, we may conclude that the Abbey Church was left standing in 1559.

This event put an end to the conventual life of the Monks, who were driven from their snug quarters to practise a more healthy kind of piety in the open and busy world. We must lament the fate of the Abbey buildings, and especially of the literary and other treasures which, doubtless, perished under the ruthless hands of its assailants, whether English or Scotch; but still more must we rejoice that the country was delivered from Popery; that the pure Gospel was soon to be preached to a people perishing for lack of knowledge; and that the external organization of the Church was to be restored to a form more nearly resembling that of primitive times:—

"Grant that by this unsparing hurricane
Green leaves with yellow mixed are torn away,
And goodly fruitage with the mother spray;
"Twere madness—wished we, therefore, to detain,
With hands stretched forth in mollified disdain,
The 'trumpery' that ascends in bare display—
Bulls, pardons, relics, cowls, black, white, and grey—
Upwhirled, and flying o'er the etherial plain
Fast bound for Limbo Lake." *

The Reformation not having been legally established till 1560, the Monks of Balmerino would, for a year longer, continue to enjoy all the revenues of the monastery. Thus we find Abbot Robert and the Convent, with the view, no doubt,

ent causes from the violence of the Reformers—the principal one being the unwillingness of those who got possession of the Church lands to be at the expense of upholding them. (See Article in Quarterly Review on "Scottish Abbeys and Cathedrals"—No. 169—1849.)

* Wordsworth.

of making the best of their altered circumstances, granting on the 4th August 1559 to the notorious James Balfour, parson of Flisk, and Andrew Balfour of Mountquhany, his father, a "Tack of the fruits, rents, profits, teinds, fishings, and other duties pertaining to the Abbacy," for five years after Martinmas 1559, for the annual payment of 900 merks Scots*—a sum which appears to have been greatly under the real value.

An Act was passed by the Privy Council, at the request of the General Assembly, in 1561, for a new destruction of "monuments of idolatry," and of monasteries; but there is no evidence that Balmerino was thus again visited.

It having been enacted in 1561 by the Privy Council that the old Clergy should be allowed to retain two-thirds of their benefices during their life-time, and that the remaining third should be appropriated partly for stipends to the parochial ministers, and partly for the use of the Crown; † of which enactment many Abbots and Priors received the benefit; a return was made of the rentals of all the benefices of the kingdom. The Thirds were uplifted by collectors appointed by the Crown. This was called the *Assumption of Thirds*. The revenues of Balmerino Abbey, "lifted out of the Baronies of Balmerinoch, Pitgorno, and Barry, together with the Kirks of Balmerino, Logie Murtho, and Barry, and the

* "Inventory of Balmerino Writs," for a perusal of which the Author is indebted to William J. Sands, Esq. From this source much new information has been obtained for this work. The "Inventory" is a large MS. vol. which belonged to the Lords Balmerino. It will be referred to in the sequel as the "Balmerino Writs." The Writs themselves are in the possession of the Earl of Moray.

† By restricting the proportion set apart for stipends to the Clergy of the Protestant Church to a third, the nobles and courtiers, it is quite evident, hoped to secure, in course of time, the remainder to themselves. Anxiety to provide for the old Clergy was only a specious pretext.

fishings upon the River Tay," were thus found to amount in 1561 to the following, in money and grain—besides 763 head of poultry :—

Money, £704 11s. 2d.

Wheat, 4 chalders.

Bear, 21 chalders, 12 bolls, 3 firloths, 2 pecks.

Meal, 15 " 12 " 2 "

Oats, 1 " 14 " 2 ",*

Out of the Third of this revenue there was then paid to the King £100 ; and in 1591 there was paid £271. As a pound Scots would then purchase as much as a pound sterling now, the several *items* of the above revenue would probably be equal in annual value to about £1500 sterling at the present day. † But they included only what then remained of the Abbey property, the greater part of it having been previously alienated. The remainder consisted mostly of feuduties, forming but a small part of the value of the original endowments.

The Abbey lands in the *present* parish of Balmerino were those of Balmerino, Kirkton, Scurr, Kilburns, Scrogieside, Cathills, Bottomcraig, Drumcharry, Dochrone, Bangove, Pitmossie, Fincraigs, Ballindean, Grange, Cultra, Corbie or Birkhill, Thornton, Demmings, Byres, and Leadwells.

It appears that Abbot Robert did not long survive the attack on his establishment in 1559. He must have been then well advanced in life, and perhaps that calamity, as Mr Turnbull conjectures, may have hastened his end. The

* From a MS. in the Advocates' Library.

† In comparing this revenue with the Valuation of the Abbey in 1275 (for which see page 85) it must be remembered that since that period the Scottish coinage had been greatly degraded in value. In 1275 out of a pound weight of pure silver there was coined £1 ; in 1565, £18 ; in 1601, £36. The whole extent of the Abbey *lands alone* probably *now* exceeds £10,000 sterling in annual value.

exact period of his death is unknown, but we have seen that he granted a Tack in August 1559. On the death of any of the Popish beneficiaries, the sovereign generally presented a layman in his room, though, of course, the cloistral life was no longer continued. In this way JOHN HAY was appointed Commendatory Abbot after the death of Abbot Robert. Sibbald assigns his appointment to the year 1561. The portions of such *private* Monks as should embrace Protestantism were, at the request of the Reformed ministers, continued to them for life.* But many of them were reduced to beggary through the avarice of those who got possession of the Church lands.

“Hope guides the young; but when the old must pass
The threshold, whither shall they turn to find
The hospitality—the alms (alas!
Alms may be needed) which that House bestowed?”

Not a few Monks, however, zealously embraced the Reformed doctrines, and earned an honest livelihood in the Protestant ministry. It is said that fourteen of the Canons of St Andrews became pastors of the Churches which had belonged to the Priory, while the remainder continued to live in poverty and neglect about the monastery till their death. The first Protestant minister of Leuchars (to which Forgan was for a time united) was a Mr John Ure, formerly a Canon of the Priory of St Andrews. Whether any of the Monks of Balmerino became Reformed ministers we have not been able to ascertain. But at least two of them continued to live about the Abbey till 1586; and there is mention made of “the Convent” in two charters dated 1588 and 1600 respectively.

In thus bringing to a close the proper history of the

* Row’s History, p. 18. (Wodrow Society Ed.) When a Monk died, his “portion” became the property of the Crown.

Abbey,—that is, of the cloistral life of the Monks—it is not necessary that we should enter into any formal estimate of the work which the Monks performed for their country and times, since we have already attempted to sketch this in our introductory chapter. It is important, however, to bear in mind that the monastic system was not overturned till it had for some time lost whatever usefulness it once possessed. In the earlier stages of its development it was virtually a protest against the ignorance, barbarism, and lawlessness which then prevailed. It embodied an earnest, though a misguided reaction from worldliness, and the worship of brute force. In the monasteries were reared the noblest characters that adorned the Church in those ages—the men who took the lead in every Christian enterprise. The tenacity of life which the monastic system exhibited, as well as the extension to which it attained prove that it had in it an element of truth and goodness, since no institution can flourish long and widely on absolute falsehood. But the period of the cloister's purity and usefulness passed away. The primary cause of the change was the enormous amount of wealth which the monasteries possessed. This induced luxurious living, which, in a mode of life so unnatural, became the parent of vice. Thus they who had renounced the world were overcome by the world, and the name of a Monk, which had once been associated with ideas of austerity and saintliness, became at length synonymous with indolence and laxity of morals. There were other causes, too, for the general contempt into which the monastic Orders fell from the beginning of the sixteenth century. The world had not been standing still during the previous ages. More especially had the printing-press freed the human mind from the bonds of superstition. An intellectual awakening had everywhere taken place. Men were beginning to examine into the reality of those things in the belief and practice of which they had been trained ; and when the diffusion of the Holy Scriptures in the vulgar

tongue came to aid and direct this spirit of inquiry; monasticism was one of the things weighed in the balances and found wanting. The Monks had, in fact, outlived their day, even as the nation had outgrown its childhood. When knowledge and religion were becoming common possessions, and law and civilization had attained to some form and power, the monasteries were felt to be unnecessary; and the cloistral life, wanting, as it then too generally did, the salt of morality, had nothing in it which could save it from destruction. Finally, the unbounded devotion of the Monks to the interests of the Papacy, when the nation was making determined efforts to throw off its yoke, excited against them such a spirit of hostility as caused the already full cup of indignation to overflow; and when the demand for reformation of the Church at length came in tones which refused a denial, the loudest cry raised was for the demolition of the houses *then* misnamed Religious. Let us be thankful for the overthrow of Popery, and of its greatest stay, the monastic system; but let us also have the candour and good feeling to acknowledge our obligations to the Monks of the Middle Ages for the Sacred Truth, the Arts, and the Civilization which their peaceful retirement, studies, and labours have preserved and bequeathed to us. And let us not forget that when the pure Gospel was at length about to be freed from Popish error, the Monks themselves were the chief agents in the good work. For as the decaying fruit of the tree is found to conceal a new seed which it has formed within itself, and out of which are to be evolved other forms of life and beauty; so the germ from which was to be developed the Protestant church was engendered amidst the corruptions of Romish monasticism. The Reformers of all countries, from Luther downwards, generally arose from amongst the Monastic Orders. And as the Monks were the first to preach again the pure Gospel, so they were amongst the foremost to die for it. Perhaps a majority of those who

suffered death in Scotland for embracing the Reformed doctrines were Monks or Friars.

CHAPTER X.

THE COMMENDATORS :
JOHN HAY, HENRY KINNEIR, JOHN KINNEIR,
AND ROBERT AUCHMOUTY.

THE ABBACY ERECTED INTO A TEMPORAL
LORDSHIP.

"A fight
That shows, ev'n on its better side, the might
Of proud Self-will, Rapacity, and Lust,
'Mid clouds enveloped of polemic dust."

WORDSWORTH.

JOHN HAY appears to have been descended from the first family of that name who had been Lairds of Naughton, but who were now extinct in the main line. His appointment as Commendator of the Abbey would entitle him to two-thirds of its revenues—subject to the maintenance of the surviving Monks—the remaining third being reserved for the use of the Protestant ministers and the Crown.

Hay was also Prior of Monymusk,* Principal Master of Requests to Queen Mary, and a Privy Councillor. He was employed by his royal mistress on various missions of a confidential nature. He is described by Tytler as a prudent and able man, a favourer of Moray, and a friend of Randolph,

* Laing's Ed. of Knox's Works, II. 482. The Priory of Monymusk was "set" for £400 after the Reformation.

the English Ambassador.* On one occasion he was sent by Queen Mary, as "Legate to Christian III, King of the Danes, Norwegians, Goths, and Vandals."†

In January 1564-5 we have a notice of another "Queen's visit" to Balmerino. It would appear that Queen Mary had at this time become tired of her metropolis on account of the censures which John Knox and the other Reforming leaders passed on her balls, concerts, and banquets; and especially in consequence of their personal observations on herself and her fair attendants. "As for Edinburgh (writes Knox), it likes our ladies nothing." Accordingly Mary escaped from that city as often as possible, and took delight in visiting the provinces. A favourite place of resort was St Andrews, where, exchanging the pomp of royalty for the repose of domestic life, she took up her abode in the house of a burgess, attended by her four Maries‡ and a few other chosen friends. We get an interesting glimpse of her unconstrained and happy life on these excursions from her capital, from an incident which occurred during one of her visits to St Andrews. Randolph, the English Ambassador, had followed her to the Ancient City with a packet from his royal mistress on the subject of her marriage with Leicester. But Mary refused to enter upon business. "I sent for you (she said) to be merry, and to see how, like a bourgeoisie wife, I live with my little troop; and you will interrupt our pastime with your grave and great matters. I pray you, Sir, if you be weary here, return home to Edinburgh, and keep your gravity and great embassy until the *Queen* come thither; for, I assure you, you shall not get her here." When Randolph expressed his surprise that her love for his Mistress

* Tytler's History of Scotland.

† Ruddiman's "Epistolæ Regum Scotiæ."

‡ These were Mary Beton, Mary Seton, Mary Livingstone, and Mary Fleming. They had been her companions from her childhood, in Scotland and France.

was apparently altered, "it pleased her at this to be very merry (he writes), and called me by more names than were given me in my christendom. At those merry conceits much good sport was made."

It was while on her way to St Andrews, on the occasion to which the above incident refers, that Queen Mary visited Balmerino—perhaps on the invitation of her Master of Requests. As she left Edinburgh on the 19th January 1564-5, and arrived at St Andrews on the 28th, the time she spent at Balmerino would probably extend to about a week's length. She must have been lodged in some of the Abbey Buildings still standing—perhaps the Commendator's House; and we may presume that her manner of life was of the same merry and easy description as at St Andrews. "In the end of January (writes John Knox) the Queen past to Fyfe, and, visiting the gentlemen's houses, was magnificently banquetted every where, so that such superfluity was never seen before in this realme; which caused the wilde fowl to be so dear, that partridges were sold for a crown a-piece."* Misfortunes soon afterwards crowded upon Queen Mary, but she was still popular, and, though already a widow, had only just completed her 22d year.

There are still to be traced portions of an ancient road, remarkable for its great breadth, which, according to tradition, led from Balmerino Abbey to St Andrews. Proceeding, apparently, up by the "Kirk Loan," it passed eastwards by the north end of the present Manse, and afterwards close in front of Naughton House. Thence it led up in front of Naughton to Gauldry, and across the moor to Kilmany Valley; and leaving the present road near "Brig-house," passed over the hill towards the Gair Bridge. By this route the youthful Queen, with her merry "troop" of ladies and other attendants, in all probability travelled to St Andrews. It was her custom on such excursions to be

* Works, Laing's Ed. II. 471.

mounted on horseback, for in those days roads were rough, and wheeled carriages rare.* The Ettrick Shepherd has thus versified the description which tradition has preserved of Queen Mary's appearance on horseback:—

“Light on her airy steed she sprung,
Around with golden tassels hung.
No chieftain there rode half so free,
Or half so light or gracefully.
When the gale heaved her bosom's screen,
What beauties in her form were seen!
And when her courser's mane it swung,
A thousand silver bells were rung,
A sight so fair on Scotland's plain
A Scot shall never see again.”

It may be mentioned that Queen Mary remained at this time only ten days in St Andrews, and went thence to Anstruther Castle, Lundie, and Wemyss Castle in succession. At the latter house she met, for the first time since his boyhood, her future husband, the ill-fated Darnley, her union with whom was the beginning of her misfortunes.†

Returning to our Commendator, we find that he was present at a solemn convention of the nobility held at Stirling on the 15th of May 1565, when Queen Mary announced her purpose of marrying Darnley, and that measure was un-animously approved of.‡

In June of the same year Her Majesty entrusted Hay with a mission to Queen Elizabeth, having for its object to induce her to consent to Mary's marriage with the Lord Darnley, and to intercede for the liberation of the Countess of Lennox his mother. Elizabeth's answer to this request was to send the Countess, who had hitherto been confined to her own

* At the stag-hunt, or the hawking, Queen Mary often rode a milk-white steed.—(Burton's History of Scotland.)

† Miss Strickland's Lives of the Queens of Scotland, vol. iv. p. 72, &c. Lyon's Hist. of St Andrews, vol. i. p. 351.

‡ Tytler's History of Scotland.

apartment, to the Tower, and to summon Lennox and Darnley to return to England under the penalty of outlawry or forfeiture.*

In the following month Hay was sent to the Earl of Moray to make known to him the goodwill of Lennox and Darnley, and to declare the falsehood of the report which had gone abroad that they were meditating to slay Moray. Lennox, at the same time, offered to fight with any one who should dare to avow this—a challenge which Moray did not accept.†

In February 1564, when the Tack, previously obtained by James Balfour, was about to expire, John Hay and the Convent—that is, such of the Monks as still survived—granted to John Kinneir of that Ilk another Tack, which received confirmation under the Great Seal in 1565, of the “rents and fruits” of the Abbey for nineteen years after Martinmas 1569 [1564?], for the annual payment of 900 merks, as before.‡

In June 1573 the same Commendator granted to Henry Kinneir, son of the foresaid John Kinneir, a Tack of the “teinds, teind sheaves, and other profits, rents, and duties of the towns and lands of the Abbey, with the pertinents of the Parochines and Parish Kirks of Logie and Balmerino, for nineteen years after Lambmass 1573, for the annual payment of 100 merks.” If this Tack embraced more than the *spirituality*, or teinds due to the Abbey Churches, the smallness of the rent must be accounted for by the supposition that Kinneir had given Hay a large sum of money besides.§

John Hay died at Edinburgh on the 3d of December 1573,|| and was succeeded by the above mentioned HENRY KINNEIR, who obtained the Commendatorship of the Abbey by a letter

* Miss Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 135.

† *Ibid.* vol. iv.

‡ Balmerino Writs.

§ *Ibid.*

|| Register of Confirmed Testaments. Laing's Ed. of Knox's Works, ii., 482.

from King James VI., dated the 6th of May 1574, and addressed to the "Archbishop of St. Andrews," directing that dignity to give him institution into office.* In this document Kinneir is described as a "true professor and supporter of the Christian religion, conspicuous for learning, and for honesty of life, and a Candidate of Philosophy in the University of St. Andrews, having completed the 21st year of his age." The King's letter reserves to James Douglas, natural son of the Regent, an annual life-pension of £50 out of the Abbey revenues, according to the tenor of the provision granted to him thereupon; £80 as stipend to the minister of Balmerino and Logie; £20 to the reader of Logie; and £60 to the minister of Barry, inclusive of Barry vicarage so soon as it shall be vacant; provided such sums shall not exceed the third part of the Abbey revenues.

Henry Kinneir appears to have been promoted to the Bench, since his name occurs as Commendator of Balmerino in the Catalogue of the Lords of Session of 1575. His elevation was probably a result of the settlement by the Leith Convention of 1572, whereby Abbots were to be continued as part of the Spiritual Estate of the realm, that they might act as Senators of the College of Justice; eight of the fifteen Lords of Session, including the President, having been originally Churchmen.

In 1574 the Commendator and Convent, "chapterly gathered," granted a Tack of the teinds of Easter Cruivie to Mr David Carnegie for nineteen years, and a feu-charter of a house and garden at Bottomcraig, with pasture for one cow, to Alison Gagy†—two documents which are chiefly noteworthy as containing, besides Kinneir's own signature, only those of Thomas Stevinson and John Yester as then forming the "Convent." It is probable that they were

* Registr. Sigill. Mag. See Appendix, No. IX.

† Balmerino Chartulary, Appendix, Nos. VIII., IX.

amongst the youngest of the Monks at the time of the Reformation. They are now—fifteen years after the visit of the Reformers to the Abbey—the only survivors of the old fraternity.* In one of those charters of 1574 there occurs the name of a John Yester as Commendator's bailiff, and from the Balmerino Writs it appears that this John Yester was married. It is thus probable that he was none other than the *quondam* Monk, and that having embraced Protestantism, he followed still further the example of Luther by disregarding his vow of celibacy, and taking to himself a wife.

In 1581 Henry Kinneir demits the benefice of the Abbey in the King's hands for a new gift of it to his son JOHN, who is accordingly appointed "Abbot and Commendator" for life, there being reserved to his father his life-rent thereof, and to the ministers of the Abbey Kirks their stipends.†

In 1586 Commendator Henry gives to John Kinneir of Barnden, with confirmation under the Great Seal, a Tack of the fruits of the Abbacy for nineteen years after Martinmas of that year, for the annual payment of 900 merks as in former Tacks.‡

In 1587 was passed the celebrated Annexation Act, whereby the *temporalities* of Church benefices—that is, the Church lands—were annexed to the crown; the "castles, mansion-houses, and pertinents" of the dignified Clergy being, however, exempted from annexation. The ostensible reason for this measure was, that the royal revenues might be increased, and the nation thus saved from taxation. It is well known, however, that the real design of those courtiers who

* Their names occur, as forming the Convent, down to 1586, and one, or both of them, appear to have survived till 1600. Thomas Stevynson signs a charter, along with the rest of the Monks, as early as 1537—the first signature of his which we have met with.

† Balmerino Writs.

‡ Ibid.

advised it was, that they themselves and their friends might get the Church lands into their own possession, by grants from a weak monarch. The Church allowed itself to be deluded into a compliance with the scheme by the assurance held out that the alienation of those rich endowments would effectually prevent the restoration of Episcopacy (since there would be no means of endowing bishoprics), and by the promise given that the whole of the *spirituality*, or tithes—the proper patrimony of the Church—would be applied to the sustentation of the parochial Clergy—a promise which was never fulfilled.

Probably in consequence of the passing of this Act, Henry Kinner and the "Convent" again resigned, in 1588, the Abbacy into the King's hands for a new gift of it, by charter under the Great Seal, to himself, his spouse Christian Beton, and the longest liver of them, and to John Kinner their eldest son, and his heirs male, whom failing, to David Kinner his brother, in fee and heritage. This charter sets forth that, "by the Reformation of religion the buildings of the monastery have sustained great damage without any subsequent repair;" and conveys to the Kinneres, amongst other things, "the Place upon which the Monastery Church of Balmerino was of old situated, there being no Parochial Church." From this it would appear that the Abbey Church had, by that time, been to a great extent, if not wholly, demolished.*

It would appear that Henry Kinner was deprived of his interest in the Abbacy for treason, and a gift of his life-rent escheat was conferred by the King on James Bartlett in Cultra, on the 8th of March 1600.† Bartlett, however, died before the 1st of October of that year.

Sir James Elphinstone, Secretary of State to James VI., obtained a gift of the lands of Barry, which was confirmed under

* Registr. Sigill. Mag.

† Balmerino Writs.

the Great Seal on the 1st of July 1600. From this charter it appears that the patronage of Barry Church, rectorage and vicarage, and that of the Vicarage Pensionary of Barry were then in possession of the Commendator and "Convent" of Balmerino, and were resigned into the King's hands by them, and conferred on Elphinstone.*

Some of the transactions which follow are difficult to explain, being, apparently, inconsistent with each other. We shall merely set them down in the order in which, according to the records, they are stated to have occurred.

On the 20th of February 1603 [1604?] SIR JAMES ELPHINSTONE obtained, with confirmation under the Great Seal, a grant of the Abbacy, both temporality and spirituality, then vacant by the decease of John Kinneir, and had it erected into the temporal Lordship of Balmerino in his own favour. This grant included the patronage and whole tithes of the three Abbey Churches, with the whole of the Abbey lands, fishings, &c., and dissolved and suppressed the Monastery; the *reddendo* to the King to be £100 as blench farm.†

On the 3d of November 1603‡ Lord Balmerino entered into a contract with Henry Kinneir, whereby the latter, with consent of his spouse, and of his son David Kinneir, renounced the Abbacy and benefice thereof in favour of the former; for which cause Lord Balmerino agreed to set in Tack to Henry Kinneir during his lifetime the Abbey Place, yards, orchards, cornyards, wood, park, and dovecot, the

* Registr. Sigill. Mag.

† Ibid.

‡ The year anciently commenced on the 25th of March, and continued to do so in England till 1753. In Scotland it was made to commence in 1600, as in France, on the 1st of January, by royal proclamation. But as the change seems not to have been at once generally adopted, it is often difficult to know, in the case of dates between the 1st of January and 25th of March, to which year they are to be assigned. This has led to much confusion of dates in the early part of the 17th century.

overmils, the eastwood, and fishings; and to present David Kinneir to the Church of Auchterhouse, which, apparently with a view to this arrangement, had in the previous month been demitted by Mr Alexander Tyrie, parson and vicar thereof, into the hands of Lord Balmerino, its patron.*

On the 18th of February 1604 the King constituted Mr ROBERT AUCHMOUTY, son of Mr David Auchmouty, advocate in St. Andrews, Commendator of the spirituality of the Abbey, "vacant in His Majesty's hands by the decease of Mr John Kinneir, or by the rebellion and inhability of Henry Kinneir."†

On the 14th of May 1605 Robert Auchmouty resigned into the King's hands the spirituality of the Abbey, that His Majesty might grant it to whomsoever he pleased.‡

The erection of the Abbey into a temporal Lordship in favour of Sir James Elphinstone was ratified by the Parliament held at Perth in 1606. The Act, which is dated the 9th July of that year, sets forth that the temporality, property, and superiority of the Abbey were then in His Majesty's hands by the Annexation Act of 1587; and that the spirituality of the said benefice, containing the Abbey Place and Monastery, with the houses, yards, &c. within the precincts of the Abbey, together with the teind sheaves and other teinds, &c., both parsonage and vicarage, of the Parish Churches of Balmerino, Barry, and Logie, and of the Vicarage Pensionary of Barry, which came under the general exception from the said annexation, and which lately pertained to Robert Auchmouty, Commendator of the spirituality of the Abbey, had been resigned by him (*there being none of the Convent then alive*), under the Common Seal of the Abbey, into His Majesty's hands; and also that the lands and baronies of Kirknewton and Ballerno, with the patronage of Kirknewton, were in

* Balmerino Writs.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

the King's hands by the annexation of the Earldom of Gowrie. The Act then unites and incorporates these lands and baronies with the lands, baronies, &c., of the Abbacy of Balmerinloch, both temporality and spirituality, and erects them into a free barony and estate of one temporal Lordship of Parliament in favour of Sir James Elphinstone, and his heirs male of tailzie and provision—the King remitting the Thirds of the Abbey, with all Monks' portions, first year fruits, and fifth penny; and Lord Balmerino undertaking the sustentation of the several ministers, and paying all taxes; the said Lordship being reckoned as £32, 4s. 5d. land of "old extent."* And the Act concludes thus—"And to the effect foresaid His Majesty and Estates of Parliament have SUPPRESSED AND EXTINGUISHED THE MEMORY OF THE SAID ABBACY OF BALMERINOCH, THAT THERE SHALL BE NAE SUCCESSOR PROVYDIT, NOR NA FORDER MENTION MAID OF THE SAME IN ONY TIME HEREAFTER."†

In the deed of Sasine which follows the above, the Abbey Place of Balmerino is appointed to be the "principal mesuage" of the said Lordship and Barony of Balmerino, and the blench farm is fixed at 200 merks.‡

It is to be observed that most of the Abbey lands in this Parish and elsewhere having been previously feued off, Lord Balmerino obtained little more than the superiorities.§ Most of the lands forming the *present* estate of Balmerino were afterwards bought back by the family at various periods down to 1702.

The Kinneirs probably retained some interest in the Abbey as late as 1619, on the 25th of February of which year David Kinneir, minister of Auchterhouse, as heir to John Kinneir, eldest son of the deceased Henry, resigned the

* Another account of the "old extent" of the Lordship of Balmerino makes it £24, 4s. 5d.

† Acts of Scottish Parliament in 11 vols.

‡ Balmerino Writs.

§ See Appendix, Nos. VII., XXV.

Manor-place, and various small portions of land, houses, yards, woods, fishings, &c., adjacent thereto, into the hands of the second Lord Balmerino the superior, that the right of property might be consolidated with the right of superiority.* But as Kinneir had got infeftment of these only three weeks previously, his resignation of them was perhaps merely a legal form.†

Such notices as we have of the later Bailies of the Abbey may be here introduced. In 1587 David Seton of Parbroath obtained by decreet-arbitral from Henry Kinneir, then Commendator, a grant of the heritable Bailiery of Balmerino.‡ On the 5th of December 1599 John Kinneir, “fiar of that Ilk,” and his heirs male, obtained a grant from the King (in whose hands it was in virtue of the Annexation Act) of the heritable Bailiery of Balmerino, with all the emoluments belonging to the office.§ The charter which confers this grant states that John Kinnear and his predecessors had been “for these many years past” Bailies to the Abbots of Balmerino, of all the lands, baronies, fishings, &c. of the Abbey, in virtue of divers titles and rights granted to him thereupon—and it reserves the Bailiery of Barry, which had been granted to Sir James Elphinstone. On the 3d of February 1619, David Kinneir of that Ilk was served heir of John Kinneir of that Ilk in the office of Bailie of Balmerino, and on the 8th of April of that year he renounced it to Lord Balmerino.||

It has already been stated¶ that the Bailiery of Barry was given in Tack to Sir Thomas Maule of Panmure in 1511, and that the Tack was several times renewed to that family. In 1590 James VI. granted a heritable gift of the office to

* Balmerino Writs.

† John Kinneir, son of David, is served heir to these in 1635. Thomson's Abbreviate of Retours.)

‡ Balmerino Writs.

§ Registr. Sigill. Mag.

|| Do.

¶ See page 109.

Patrick Maule of Panmure. In 1599 Sir James Elphinstone granted a charter of the Bailiery of Barry to the Earl of Panmure. In 1667 Lord Balmerino disposed of it to George, Earl of Panmure, who in 1672 obtained confirmation under the Great Seal. It was still in that family in 1686, and doubtless remained so till forfeited in consequence of Lord Panmure's accession to the Rebellion of 1715.

The value of the office of Abbot's Bailie—or the *Regality* of the Abbey—may be inferred from the large sums allowed by Parliament in 1747 (when hereditary jurisdictions were abolished) as compensation for the loss of such offices. The Earl of Airlie obtained £1400 for the Bailiery of Arbroath Abbey, and £800 for that of Cupar Abbey. The Regality of Dunfermline was valued at £2,672. That of Balmerino was not valued, being forfeited at the Rebellion then recently terminated.

In the same year in which the Abbacy of Balmerino was conferred on Sir James Elphinstone, there were no fewer than seventeen new "erections" of Church lands into temporal Lordships.* Regret has often and justly been expressed that the endowments of the ancient Church were lost to the nation by being thus misappropriated to the aggrandizement of the few. When the Religious Houses were suppressed, the intentions of the original donors ought to have been respected, which would have been substantially done, had their revenues been applied to the three great objects desired by the Church—the sustentation of the ministry; the endowment of colleges, and of burgh and parish schools; and the maintenance of the poor. The Church property was amply sufficient for the carrying out of all those objects on the most liberal scale, and thus the nation would have been saved from three of the heaviest taxes which now press upon it. "No one (as Dr Cunningham remarks) would lose anything, only some of our great

* Calderwood's History, vi., 494.

proprieters would never have possessed their extensive domains. Some great lords would be but country gentlemen with small estates, untroubled with dreams about nobility; and others might rejoice in ancient titles, but lack the broad acres which now give them support. Public officers, and not private factors, would be lifting the rents of our ancient monasteries; and yet the present holders could not be said to have lost what, according to our supposition, they never possessed. The community would have reaped, as it ought to have done, the benefit of the Church's accumulated wealth."*

CHAPTER XI.

WHAT BECAME OF THE ABBEY CHURCH.

"The floor with many a monumental stone
Was spread, and brass-ensculptured effigies
Of holy Abbots honoured in their day,
Now to the grave gone down. The branching arms
Of many a ponderous pillar met aloft,
Wreathed on the roof embossed."

SOUTHEY.

It is difficult to trace the fate of the Abbey Church after the Reformation. The terms of Henry Kinneir's charter of the Abbacy, which, as we have seen, is dated 1588, and which makes mention of the "Place upon which the Monastery Church was of old situated," would induce the inference that the Church was then ruinous, if not wholly removed.†

* Cunningham's Church History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 367.

† It may be remarked that the statements in some of the charters which passed the Great Seal are but "the depositions of parties in their own favour, and are to be viewed with the utmost suspicion." See Tytler's Note on Parliament and Charters of 1482. Kinneir had an interest in declaring the Abbey to be ruinous.

On the other hand, it is stated in the Old Statistical Account of Balmerino that the Abbey Church served as the Parish Church till the year 1595, when a new one was built. And again, in a letter from the Rev. Andrew Hutton, minister of Kilmany, dated 1789, and addressed to General Hutton, the erection of the new Church is assigned to the year 1611.*

It is asserted in Thomson's History of Dundee that when the transept of St Mary's Church in that town was roofed anew in 1588, "the wooden work was brought from Balmerino Abbey, being, in fact, the entire roof of the Abbey Church there, the dimensions of which were about co-extensive with those of the transept, being 174 feet in length, and 44 in breadth." It is added, that about 1783-9, when the West or Steeple Church was re-erected, the south transept (or South Church) "received a roof a second time, and the old oaken roof from Balmerino was taken down and sold. A portion of it was purchased by James Guthrie of Craigie for the purpose of making gate-posts in several of his fields at Craigie, some of which were to be seen since 1820. A very considerable portion was also purchased by the heritors of Monifieth for the purpose of roofing their old parish church, which was taken down to make way for the erection of the present one in 1812."† Thus far Thomson.

In the New Statistical Account of Monifieth Parish it is stated that "a great part of the present Church [erected in 1813] is built of the materials of the old Abbey of Balmerino. That edifice was dismantled, and the stones shipped down the Tay by the second Lord Balmerino [1613-49] for the purpose of repairing the old church of Monifieth: his object being to save expense, as he was the chief heritor in the parish."

* General Hutton's MS. Collections, vol. vi. (vol. on Fife) in the Advocates' Library. See the Letter in Appendix, No. XXIII.

† Thomson's History of Dundee, pp. 295, 296.

These two accounts of Monifieth Church are perhaps only different versions of one fact—that some of the materials, either wood or stones, of the Church, or other buildings of Balmerino Abbey were used in the repair of the old Church of Monifieth. As to Thomson's other statements about the Church of Dundee, there is probably some foundation for them, though the "whole roof" of the Abbey Church was very much larger than the roof of the *transept* of the former edifice. If he is correct as to the date 1588, and if the roof of the Abbey Church was taken down in the early part of that year, this would not be inconsistent with the terms of Henry Kinneir's charter, which was not granted till the 5th of December 1588. If the Abbey Church had been used as the Parish Church till that time, a new one would probably be built soon afterwards. But perhaps St Ayle's chapel was still in existence, and used as the place of worship till 1595 or 1611.

The reason assigned by Mr Hutton for the removal of the Church to the site of the present grave-yard is, "because the Countess [meaning Lady Balmerino] could not bear the noise of the Psalms on Sunday" so near her abode. If this reason was the true one, the date 1611, given by Mr Hutton, might be correct, to the exclusion of 1595, since there was no Lady Balmerino till 1603 ; while 1611 would coincide with the period of Lord Balmerino's retirement to this place, when he was under the King's displeasure.

We have thus no *certain* information whether, or how long, the Abbey Church was used as a place of worship after the Reformation, or as to the date of the erection of the new Church. But, on the whole, it is probable that the Abbey Church, called St Mary's, stood for some considerable time after 1559. The cause of its demolition, as in the case of most similar structures throughout Scotland, was, no doubt, the unwillingness of those who got possession of the Abbey lands to be at the expense of repairing and maintaining it.

They would feel themselves, too, all the more secure in the enjoyment of Church plunder when there no longer existed any danger, in the shape of a beautiful Gothic Church, of their lands being restored to a religious use.

"The idolatry of superstition was superseded by the idolatry of selfishness." The new Church, which lasted till 1811, was of that unsightly style of architecture which parsimony and bad taste have inflicted on Scotland down almost to the present day, when at length all parties are becoming ashamed to see even private dwellings surpass in stateliness and splendour the House of God. "The wood-work of the Abbey (says Mr Leighton) seems to have been used in the erection of this Church, and some of the carved work was used to ornament the fronts of the pews. A carved oak panel is still in the Museum of the Fifeshire Antiquarian Society, which was taken from the Parish Church when it was taken down [in 1811], and which had originally formed a panel in front of one of the stalls, or the pulpit in the Abbey Church. The carving, which is very rude, and in all probability as old as the erection of the monastery, represents at the top of the panel a man on horseback, and below this a person in a fantastic dress doing penance, and undergoing flagellation from the hands of another who has a rod or whip raised for the purpose. Underneath these two figures is another individual looking up to the person doing penance, and holding a dish or cup towards him."*

When the new Church was built, or sometime afterwards, the dust of the Convent graveyard (which was situated to the south and west of the Abbey Church, and was used also as the Parish burying-ground) was, strange to say, carted up and deposited around that edifice. Tradition asserts, however, that this desecration was stopped by the ghosts of the dead forbidding the workmen to disturb their repose!

* "Fife Illustrated," Art., "Balmerino."

From this time onwards the Abbey buildings appear to have been used as a common quarry for the neighbourhood. The houses and fences around the village of Balmerino contain many carved stones which once adorned its walls. The very foundation of a row of pillars in the interior of the Church were not long since dug out, and removed for building purposes. Now, however, the Abbey ruins are more carefully preserved.

CHAPTER XII.

EXISTING RUINS OF THE ABBEY.

“How reverend the old Abbey’s ivied walls!
How pleasant in their sweet solemnity!” WILSON.

THERE being no notice of the Abbey buildings in the Char-
tulary, the means of determining their original style or ex-
tent are now very scanty. The greater part of them has
long since disappeared, and what remains is, with the excep-
tion of the Cloisters of the Chapter-House, by no means a
picturesque object. Such notices as we have of the ancient
structure were written after it had gone to decay: there is,
so far as we know, no contemporary description of it extant.
All the traditional accounts, however, represent the Monas-
tery as a building of great beauty. Father Hay says it
was “formerly a faire and noble structure.” Spottiswoode,
in his History of Religious Houses, writes:—“Balmerin-
ach was an Abbey of a beautiful structure”—“was of old
a stately building pleasantly situate near the shore, hard
by the salt water of Tay, and is now for the most part in
ruins.” Defoe, the celebrated author of “*Robinson Crusoe*,”

during his tour in Scotland in 1727 was tempted to visit it, but was disappointed with the result. "I turned (he says) to the north-east part of the county to see the ruins of the famous monastery of Balmerinoch, of which Mr Cambden takes notice, but saw nothing worthy of observation, the very ruins being almost eaten up by time." Cardonnel (1788) calls it "an Abbey remarkable for the beauty of its structure."

Referring the reader to our previous remarks on Monastic buildings,* we shall now briefly describe the existing ruins of the Abbey. According to the ground-plan engraved in the printed Chartulary, which, though partly conjectural, is probably in the main correct, the whole length of the Church was 235 feet,† and that of the transept 135 feet. The breadth of the Choir and Nave was 58 feet, and that of the transepts 52 feet—all these being the exterior dimensions. Of the number or situation of the pillars of the Church we cannot, in the present state of the ground, affirm anything with certainty. The bases of several pillars may still be seen along what remains of the north wall of the Nave and north Transept; one in the latter place being richly clustered. The principal entrance from the Cloisters into the Church is supposed to have been through the north wall of the nave. With the exception of a portion of this wall, and of the west and north sides of the north transept, the spacious Church, which, no doubt, had its clustered pillars, groined arches, richly carved wood-work, and stained-glass windows, with

* See page 52.

† The length of St. Andrews Cathedral Church was 358 feet.

	Arbroath Abbey Church	284	"
"	Glasgow Cathedral	283	"
"	Elgin	282	"
"	Lindores Abbey	240	"
"	Kirkwall Cathedral	218	"
"	Aberdeen	200	"

The English Cathedrals were, in general, much larger than the Scottish.

costly altars around its interior, and on its floor and walls beautifully sculptured tombs, has now wholly disappeared ; and the spot on which was heard for centuries the solemn chanting of psalms and mediaeval hymns, and over which there passed many a stately procession, while the strains of the organ pealed along its aisles,* is now marked only by heaps of grass-grown rubbish, trees, and bramble-bushes—

“No matins now, no vesper sung ;
Time mocks at last the human tongue.”

Even the site of Queen Ermengarde's tomb cannot be identified. Sibbald, writing about the end of the 17th century, says that her statue was in the Abbey “within these few years.”

Connected with the north transept is an apartment which may have been used as a sacristy, or a vestry. Its arched roof is semi-cylindrical. In the south wall is a door leading into the Church, which was perhaps used as a private entrance for the Monks ; and in the opposite wall is another door opening out into the cloisters. There was probably a third door in the east wall by which the Abbot would have access to the apartment, and thence to the Church.

The Cloisters just mentioned, forming the entrance into the Chapter-House, are now the most entire and interesting portion of the ruins, and are sufficient to awaken in the mind

* It was the opinion of William Tytler of Woodhouselee that we owe the first introduction of organs and of a choral service into the Cathedral and Abbey Churches of Scotland to James I. (1406). But his grandson, the historian of Scotland, informs us that in 1250, when the body of St. Margaret was removed from the outer Church of Dunfermline Abbey, where she was originally interred, to the Choir beside the high altar, the procession of priests and Abbots, who carried the corpse upon their shoulders, “moved along to the sound of the organ, and the melodious songs of the choir singing in parts.” Hist. of Scotland, Chap. vi. Section vi. See also Calderwood (i. 48), who says—“They placed a great part of religion in curious singing in these dayes.”

of the visitor keen regret that more of the Abbey buildings have not been preserved.* The Cloisters are of the Decorated, or Middle-Pointed style, which, in Scotland, prevailed from about the year 1286 to 1372. The arches of the groined roof, which have moulded ribs, originally sprung from six octagonal isolated piers, with four not isolated, and two corbels rising from the walls. Two of the isolated, and two of the undetached piers have been removed, leaving six of both kinds, which have moulded bases and floriated capitals, the leaves forming the ornamentation being different in each pillar, and some of them still very perfect. The bosses of the arches seem to have contained armorial bearings, now almost wholly effaced. One has a shield charged with a bend, but the rest of the blazon cannot be deciphered. There are two holes, resembling chimney-vents, piercing the roof, but what purpose they served in such a place it is difficult to conjecture. Probably the Balmerino family made alterations on the structure, which increase the difficulty of tracing out its original form. *Sedilia*, or stone benches, run round the walls of the cloisters. Many "Masons' Marks" are still visible on the pillars, and other parts of the building.

The Chapter-House, to which these Cloisters lead, was the place in which the Abbot and Monks usually assembled to consult about the affairs, and administer the discipline of the Convent, and where the Superiors of the community were elected, novices admitted, &c. This portion of monastic structures was generally designed and ornamented with no less elegance than the Church itself. Here the arched roof

* Mr T. S. Muir, the learned author of "Descriptive Notices of the Ancient Parochial and Collegiate Churches of Scotland" (1848), falls into a strange mistake in thinking that these cloisters are probably a portion of one of the transepts of the Church. (Page xii. of Introduction.)

was probably supported by a single pier in the centre.* The richness of the mouldings may be inferred from some brackets and portions of arches which remain, the lines of which are as sharply defined as when they left the sculptor's hands. This apartment was originally lighted by two square-headed windows in the east wall, one of which was afterwards converted into a door having a semi-circular top, and surmounted by a window of three square lights. There are several small square-headed windows round the upper portion of the east and north walls, which do not harmonize with the style of the rest of the building, and seem to be of a later date. The exterior buttresses which supported these walls have been almost wholly removed.

Adjoining the cloisters on the north side is an apartment having *sedilia* round the walls, a semi-cylindrical roof, and a pointed doorway. The exterior walls of this portion are of very inferior architecture, compared with the massive and closely jointed stones of the walls of the Chapter House. On the north corner of the building is a shield bearing a fess, between some figures which are undistinguishable.

Attached to this portion of the building are three cells, two of which have an entrance only at the top, the other being entered from below. The two former look like places of imprisonment.

It is supposed that other extensive buildings, which have now wholly disappeared, ran round a large quadrangular area called the Cloister Yard, the south side of which was formed by the nave of the Church. These buildings would contain the cells of the monks, dormitories, and other apartments of a domestic kind. The principal entrance to the whole

* An example of this may be seen in the Chapter-House of Glasgow Cathedral. The Chapter-House of the Cistercian Abbey of Glenluce, also still standing, has such a pillar (14 feet high) in the centre, "from whose top eight divergent arches span the intervening space to the surrounding walls." (Fullarton's *Gazetteer of Scotland*).

was perhaps on the west side, facing the Cloisters of the Chapter House. Within the memory of persons still alive there was on the west side of the cloistral area a building of considerable size, and to the north of it three arched gateways, a large one in the centre, and a small one on each side. These, however, seem to have led into the back court, or outer area, around which were the barns, granaries, and other outhouses, of which a part yet remains, distinguished by its high pointed gable and curiously arched doorways. Opposite this entrance on the east side was another arched gateway, now also removed.

South-east of the Chapter-House was a detached house in which, latterly, Lord Balmerino lived. It was most probably that previously called the Commendator's house, and was perhaps originally the dwelling of the Abbot. "Two stone windows in the front (says Mr Hutton, in the letter already quoted) have the impression of arms on them; and on the north end there is a bartizan, as they call it, looking towards the river."

On the north end of this house was an arched room which still remains. Some have thought that this was a chapel; its present appearance suggests rather the idea of its having been the Abbot's cellar.*

Several stone coffins have been found about the ruins, but have not been preserved. Near the end of last century, an image of the Virgin, with the Holy Child in her arms, was dug up, and given to Mr David Martin, "painter and antiquarian." It was said to have once stood in a niche above two basins cut out in the stone, "probably for holding holy water," near the entrance of one of the arched apartments. In 1860, when workmen were digging a foundation for some new farm buildings near the Abbey, they found an ancient gold coin in good preservation, which proved to be an *angel*,

* It is popularly known as "Lord Balmerino's wine cellar."

so called from its having on the obverse the figure of the archangel, Michael, piercing the dragon. On the same side was the inscription—HENRIC. DE. GRA. REX. AGLI. & FRANC.' Translation :—*Henry, by the grace of God, King of England and France.* On the reverse side was a cross surmounting a ship, and the legend :—PER. CRUC. TUA. SALVA. NOS. X. PE. REDE., which, in full, would be—PER CRUCEM TUAM SALVA NOS, CHRISTE, PEC-CATORUM REDEMPTOR. Translation :—*By thy cross save us, O Christ, Redeemer of sinners.* On the right side of the cross was the letter H, for Henry. The arms were those of England.

Wherever the ground about the ruins has been dug to any considerable depth, masonry has been found ; and if the accumulations of earth and rubbish were removed, the foundations of all the chief buildings might yet be laid bare, and the plan of the whole made out. This is very much to be desired.*

East and south of St Mary's Church were the garden and orchards of the monastery, in which oyster shells still abound. About the beginning of the present century, there were here many fine fruit and other trees. The only remaining ones, worthy of special mention, are the following :—(1.) A Spanish chestnut, thought to be as old as the Abbey, and measuring, at a foot from the ground, eighteen feet in circumference ; at three feet from the ground, sixteen feet. In 1793—as appears from the Old Statistical Account—it measured fifteen feet in girth ; at what distance from the ground it is not stated. Its length of trunk is only five feet ; its height about fifty feet. Some decayed parts of the trunk are covered with zinc plates and plaster to exclude the atmosphere. This venerable patriarch is still, however, in a flourishing condition :—

* This has been recently done at Lindores Abbey.

"The spring
Finds thee not less alive to her sweet force
Than yonder upstarts of the neighbouring wood,
So much thy juniors, who their birth received
Half a millennium since the date of thine."

(2.) A very fine walnut tree. (3.) Another old Spanish chestnut tree, farther south. (4.) Two very large beech trees. A large elm tree in the valley was cut down some years ago, said to have been the thickest of them all. In 1775 Lord Hailes thus wrote to James Boswell, the biographer of Dr Johnson†:—"The gentleman at St Andrews, who said that there were but two trees in Fife, ought to have added, that the elms of Balmerino were sold within these twenty years to make pumps for the fire-engines." This statement shows that the trees of Balmerino were already celebrated for their size before wood was plentiful in Fife. There are still some peculiar plants growing about the Abbey.‡

In the beautiful dell to the east of the Abbey some think there was once a fish-pond—it is certain that about three centuries ago there was a meal-mill there, called the Overmiln; the Nethermiln being where the present one is. There is at the former spot a well, still called the Monks' Well. Others in the Parish are called the Prior Well, St John's Well, and the Lady Well—the latter two, however, being not on the Abbey lands, but on Naughton estate, in the field between the House Park and Gauldry, and east of the old road leading from Naughton Lodge to that village. In old documents connected with the Abbey we meet with other ancient names of places there, such as the "Ward and Nutyard," attached to a malt kiln and barn, east of the stream which descends

* Cowper.

† Croker's Ed. of Boswell's Life of Johnson, III. 100, (1831).

‡ See Appendix, No. III.

through the dell ; "the Green of Balmerino," which was west of the Abbey, with many fine old plane trees growing about it, the last of which was cut down three years ago ; the "Plum Yard ;" the "Burnt Girdel," &c.

Views of Balmerino Abbey occur in Cardonnel's "Picturesque Antiquities" (1788), in Grose's "Antiquities of Scotland" (1789-91), in Swan and Leighton's "Fife Illustrated" (1840), and in Fullarton's "Gazetteer of Scotland," but no one of these gives the most interesting view of the ruins.* There are wood-cuts of the Abbey Churches of Balmerino and Lindores in a curious MS. of Hardyng's Chronicle in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, which are engraved in Gough's "Anecdotes of British Topography," and in the printed Chartularies of these Abbeys, and which we here mention only in order to state that they are wholly inaccurate, if, indeed, they were ever intended for more than conventional figures to indicate merely the *existence* of such structures.

Let the thoughtful reader, who has followed our narrative thus far, now adopt as his own the sentiments of the poet (whose Ecclesiastical Sonnets we have quoted so frequently) in reference to Old Abbeys :—

* Grose gives the *interior* of the Chapter-house ; Cardonnel, the *exterior* of it, from the east. The eastern wall, or gable, was then higher than now. We may here notice a stone now built into the west gable of the farm-steading at Balmerino, but which must have been found about the Abbey. On its upper part there is represented a small cross, with the word DEUS beneath it. Below this is a shield bearing a chevron ; but the rest of the blazon has been most successfully (not to say barbarously) effaced by the insertion of a modern date (1849) within the chevron. On the right side of the shield are the letters, A. I., and on the left, P. O.

Monastic Domes! following my downward way,
Untouched by due regret, I marked your fall!
Now ruin, beauty, ancient stillness, all
Dispose to judgments temperate as we lay
On our past selves in life's declining day:
For as, by discipline of Time made wise,
We learn to tolerate the infirmities
And faults of others—gently as he may,
So with our own the mild Instructor deals,
Teaching us to forget them or forgive.
Perversely curious, then, for hidden ill,
Why should we break Time's charitable seals?
Once ye were holy, ye are holy still;
Your spirit freely let me drink, and live.*

* Wordsworth.

Part III.

**HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT
MINISTERS AND CHURCH.**

CHAPTER I.

MR ARCHIBALD KEITH. MR PATRICK
AUCHINLECK.

"With what entire affection do they prize
Their Church reformed! labouring with earnest care
To baffle all that may her strength impair;
That Church, the unpverted Gospel's seat;
In their afflictions a divine retreat;
Source of their liveliest hope, and tenderest prayer."

WORDSWORTH.

THE REFORMATION of the Scottish Church may be considered to have been established in 1560, in which year the Estates abolished the jurisdiction of the Pope, prohibited the Mass, and adopted Knox's Confession of Faith, though these measures did not receive the royal sanction till 1567. The year 1560 witnessed also the first meeting of the General Assembly, a body destined to play an important part in Scottish affairs. The first Assembly consisted of no more than twelve ministers, with whom were joined thirty elders. Other ministers and readers, to the number of forty-three, were immediately appointed, whom a Committee of Parliament, at the request of the Assembly, nominated to the most important charges throughout the country. Five persons were also named superintendents.

Balmerino was one of the parishes which were so fortunate as to secure the services of a Protestant minister at the first, Mr ARCHIBALD KEITH having been appointed to it in 1560.

In consequence of the scarcity of preachers, two or more parishes were then frequently united in one charge, and this was the case here. Logie-Murdoch, owing to its ancient connection with the Abbey, was for a time united to Balmerino, and Mr Keith performed the pastoral duties of both parishes.*

Mr Keith's duties would at first be very arduous. The people had hitherto been taught that religion consisted mainly in pageants and processions, in giving honour to crucifixes and images, in making pilgrimages to the shrines of saints, in worshipping the Virgin, in paying for masses to deliver their souls from Purgatory, and such like. Before the Reformation the prayers of the Church were said in an unknown tongue, and what preaching there was, consisted mostly of silly legends about saints, and the extolling of the virtues of indulgences and the powers of the priesthood. Education was not general, and acquaintance with Scripture was confined to the few. * Such being the condition of the people, much instruction would be needed to free their minds from superstitious error, and to implant in its stead the genuine truths of the Word of God. The process would be slow and gradual, even though the people eagerly listened, as we know they did, to the preaching of the pure Gospel. The simplicity of the Protestant service, held at first in the Abbey Church, would form a striking contrast to the pomp and ceremonies which the people had been accustomed to witness in the old monastic times.

The Church readily got the barons to concur with her in the work of reformation so long as her efforts were directed against Popery ; but when she claimed that the property of the previous establishment should be applied to the sustentation of the ministers, the education of the people, and the

* List of the Ministers of the Synod of Fife from 1560 to 1700, appended to "Selections from the Minutes of the Synod of Fife" printed for the Abbotsford Club.

maintenance of the poor, she was met by determined opposition, and only the most paltry sums could be obtained for the first of these objects, while the other two were entirely disregarded. A plan having been devised for allowing two-thirds of the benefices of the old clergy to be retained by them for life, and for applying the remaining third partly to the replenishing of the royal Exchequer, and partly to the maintenance of the Protestant ministers,* the barons in course of time managed, by various devices, to secure the greater part of the share of the old clergy to themselves; while out of the remaining Thirds, small stipends, ranging from one hundred to three hundred merks, were allotted to the ministers.† Mr Keith's stipend must have been very small, as appears from the following entry in the Records of the General Assembly, dated the 29th of December 1562:—"Mr Archibald Keith, minister of Logy and Balmerinoch, was decerned be the Kirk to be translated from the foresaid Kirks to sick place as that his stipend should be more abundantly given him, in caise he be not reasonable satisfied be the Lords appointed to modifie the ministers' stipends, provyding he change not at his own private opinione, but to have therein the judgment and appointment of the Kirk, who shall give their judgment herein, ere this Assembly be dissolved."‡ The result is not recorded, but it is probable that Mr Keith was translated to another parish. A person of the same name was minister of Peterhead in 1571, but we have not the means of knowing whether he was the same individual§ It forms, however, a striking proof of the

* In 1567 Parliament granted the *whole* of the Thirds for the use of the Protestant ministers.

† Yet it was said that there were many lords who had not so much to spend. If this was true, the aristocracy must have been poor indeed!

‡ Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, p. 12.

§ Calderwood's History of the Kirk, vol. iii. pp. 132, 527, 529. (Wodrow Soc. Ed.)

selfish spirit of the lay Reformers, that in a parish every acre of which was church property the minister was placed on a starvation allowance. It was this spirit which wrung from John Knox the bitter complaint, that "to these dumb dogs and horrid bishops—to one of these idle bellies ten thousand was not enough, but to the servants of Christ, that painfully preach the Gospel, a hundred will suffice."

MR PATRICK AUCHINLECK OR AFFLECK was the second minister of Balmerino. We do not know when he was appointed, but his name occurs as incumbent in 1571.* At this time Logie was supplied by a Reader. The salaries of both are thus stated in the "Register of Ministers and thair stipends sen the yeir of God 1567" printed for the Maitland Club from a MS. in the General Register House, Edinburgh:—"Mr P. Auchinleck, minister, 4 score merkis, Lambnes 1571, and 40 merkis mair sen beltyme† 1572. Henry Leche, reidare respective 16 li. lambnes 1571." Under the year 1574 the salaries are thus set down in the "Register of Ministers and Readers" printed in the Wodrow Society Miscellany from the "Book of the Assignations of Stipends" preserved in the Advocates' Library:—

"Balmerinauch, Logymurtho.

Mr Patrick Auchinlek, minister, £80 0 0

Henrie Leiche, reidare at Logymurtho, 19 13 4"

In the "Books of Assigation and Modification of Stipends" preserved in the General Register House‡ they are thus given for the year 1576:—"Balmerinach, Logymurtho—Maister Patrick Affleck, minister, his stipend lxxx li. to be paid out of the thirds of the Abbay of Balmernynath. Henry

* List of the Ministers of the Synod of Fyfe previously quoted.

† Beltyme, apparently for *Beltane*, or Mayday.

‡ The Series comprises the years 1576, 1577-80, 1585, 1586, 1588-91, 1593, 1595-97, 1599, 1601, 1607, 1608, 1614, and 1615.

Leitch, reidare at Logymurtho, his stipend xviii li. with the kirk lands of Logiemurtho, to be payit as follows, viz., the third of the vicarage of Logymurtho, v li. vi s. viii d. and out of the thirds of Balmerinoth x li. xiii s. iii d." The value of the minister's stipend would, *at present*, be about equal to £66 : that is to say, it would purchase about as much in grain as £66 would now ; for, if converted into a grain stipend, half meal, half barley, according to the rate of prices at that early period, it would amount to about four and a third chalders.* Two-thirds of the revenue of the Abbey was, of course, enjoyed by the Commendator. Such were the hardships to which the clergy were at that time exposed, that they were frequently compelled to resort to secular callings to procure a living. A curious illustration of this fact occurs in the Records of the General Assembly of 1576, in which the following "deliverance" is given, apparently in answer to a question proposed, whether the keeping of a tavern was an allowable occupation for a minister or reader : — "Ane minister or reader that taps ale, beir, or wyne, and keeps ane open taverne, sould be exortit be the Commisioners to keep decorum."†

The office of Reader, which appears to have been in use in the Christian Church as early as the year 200, was revived in Scotland at the Reformation, in consequence of the paucity of regular ministers. The proper duty of this official was to read, in a congregation destitute of a pastor, the Holy

* The prices in Fyfe at this period were, *communibus annis* :—

Bear, £21 6 8 the chalder.

Oatmeal 16 0 0 "

It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader that a chalder is equal to 16 bolls ; that the pound Scots (in which the above prices, as well as the stipends, are stated,) was equal to 20d. sterling ; and that a merk was 13s. 4d. Scots, or 13½d. sterling. (See "Miscellany of the Wodrow Society," p. 395).

† Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, p. 160.

Scriptures and the Book of Common Order, otherwise known as Knox's Liturgy. He was not allowed to administer the sacraments, but might exhort the people ; and if approved of in that duty, might afterwards be promoted to the ministry. In 1580 the General Assembly held in Dundee declared Readers to be no ordinary office-bearers in the Church, after which period they gradually sunk to the inferior position of clerks and precentors. The offices of Reader and Schoolmaster were often united in the same person. This was the case in Balmerino, where the Schoolmaster continues to be called also "Reader" in the Kirk-Session Records as late as the year 1712. The Schoolmaster of Logie still enjoys an endowment of fifty merks *per annum*, the produce of an old "mortification" of a thousand merks by a Laird of Logie to the Reader. Similar endowments exist in Monimail and other parishes.

When there was no minister in a parish, there was, of course, no other religious service than what the Reader could perform. When there were both a Minister and a Reader present, the service was generally as follows. Early in the morning, commonly about eight o'clock, the Reader entered the desk, and read the public prayers from the Book of Common Order, while the people humbly bowed themselves before the Lord, and confessed their sins. The Reader then gave out a psalm to be sung—a part of the service which the people greatly loved, and greatly excelled in—after which he read some considerable portion of Scripture. These exercises lasted for about an hour. After a short interval, during which the last bell was rung, the Minister entered, knelt down—the people also generally kneeling—and commenced with prayer, which, if he chose, was extemporaneous. The Lord's prayer and the Doxology were used in some part of the service. A psalm was then sung, and another prayer followed for a blessing on the Word to be preached ; or the minister immediately gave out his text, and delivered his

sermon. This was succeeded by prayer, thanksgiving, and praise ; and the whole was concluded by the apostolic benediction. Such was the Order of Divine Service for seventy or eighty years after the Reformation. There were commonly two services each Sabbath day, and catechising was generally substituted for preaching in the afternoon. The custom of commencing worship so early in the morning was perhaps a relic of the times preceding the Reformation, and is still practised by Roman Catholics.*

Henry Leitch continued to act as Reader at Logie till 1579. The *name* of the Reader is wanting in the Books of Assignation for the year 1580 ; nor is his name or stipend given after that date, the office having been then, apparently, discontinued in Logie. In 1586 a Henry Leitch, apparently the same person, was admitted minister of Crail ; and in 1593 was translated thence to Auchtermuchty, where he died in 1614.

In 1580 we find Mr Thomas Forret, who is called *vicar* of Logie, demitting his charge, which is all we can ascertain regarding him.† If this was a Protestant minister, he could only have been in office one year, or part of a year.

Mr Patrick Auchinleck was one of eleven "assessors" to the Moderator of the General Assembly held in Dundee in 1580, but he seems to have left Balmerino before that time. In the Assembly of the following year there was a Commissioner from Moray of the same name.

* See Chalmers's History of Dunfermline, p. 559.

† List of the Ministers of the Synod of Fife already quoted.

CHAPTER II.

MR THOMAS DOUGLAS.

"We sail the sea of life—a *Calm* One finds,
And One a *Tempest*—and, the voyage o'er,
Death is the quiet haven of us all."

WORDSWORTH.

MR THOMAS DOUGLAS was minister of Balmerino in 1578, as appears from the Books of Assignation. He was also minister of Logie from March 1580-1, and drew its vicarage stipend; the two parishes having been again united for a short time. On the 20th of November 1589 Mr Douglas is one of fourteen ministers of the Presbytery of St Andrews (in which Balmerino was then included) that "hes tane thaim to be ministers at ane kirk only, and hes demittit the rest." Accordingly, on the 16th of January following, the Presbytery ordains "Mr Thomas Douglas only to be imbuikit at the kirk of Balmerinoch." Thus Logie was rendered vacant; and after this time it was always served by its own incumbent.

Mr Douglas was designed of Stonypath, and was descended of an ancient family. In 1411 James de Douglas of Robertoun got a charter of the lands of Stanypathe, then in the barony of Dalkeith, but formerly in that of Linton, from his father James de Douglas, lord of Dalkeith, descended from the first Earl of Douglas, who lived in the time of King David II., and was ancestor of the Earls of Morton. Mr Thomas Douglas was, apparently, a lineal descendant of this person. Archibald Douglas of Stanypathe, the previous possessor of that property, was in all probability his father.

Of both this individual and his wife there are curious notices in Pitcairn's "Criminal Trials." In 1587 Archibald Douglas of Stanypath and Alexander Crichton of Drylaw (who was also Laird of Naughton) were tried in Edinburgh for "contravening of our soverane lordis Proclamation in abyding fra the Raid appointed to follow our soverane lord to Dumfries upon the ferd of April" of the preceding year.* Crichton was proved to have been then in the north—probably at Naughton—and was therefore absolved. Douglas was desired by the Earl of Angus to be "repledged" to Dalkeith; but the result in his case is not stated. Margaret Tindall (or Tinwall), relict of the late Archibald Douglas of Stanypeth, was in 1599 "dilated of okeran [usury] and contravening the Acts of Parliament in taking yeirle of 21 merkis for the annual rent of ilk hunder merkis of seven hundreth merks lent be hir to John Harlaw." The case was ordered to be continued, but the subsequent proceedings are not recorded.

Besides Stonypath, to which Mr Thomas Douglas no doubt succeeded on his father's death, he also possessed or acquired a considerable amount of other landed property. He had eight bovates of land (13 acres each) at Langton, and Dubend, in the regality of Dalkeith; a tenement in Edinburgh; and the lands of Broomholes in the lordship of Newbottle.† In Balmerino parish he obtained in 1602 from King James a charter of confirmation of six acres in Scurrbank, and also of the third part of the lands of Drumcharry and Bottomcraig (except two acres thereof possessed by Richard Wilson); two acres of Leadwells; the lands of Park and Poyntok; the lands called Craingingrugie's Fauld, extending to four acres; three acres in Harlands and one in Woodflat; with pasturage for six cows and their followers,

* The absence from the *raid* or *array* of those who were bound to give suit and military service pointed them out as disaffected.

† Thomson's Abbreviate of Retours.

and for two horses, on these three last named places, and on the Outfields of Byres.*

In 1585 Mr Douglas's stipend stands in the Books of Assignment as increased to £133 6s. 8d ; "thereof the haill vicarage of Logymurtho xvi li., and the remanent to be pait out of the Thirds of the Abbey of Balmerinoch."

In 1588 the stipend is farther increased to "the haill vicarage of Logymurtho xvi lib., and the remanent to be pait out of the Thirds of the Abbey of Balmerinoch, extending to clxxx li. vi s., viii d., and iii li. xi s., i½ d.; xiii bol., iii firl., iii pks. bear." In 1589 the last two *items* are to be paid out of the Thirds of the Abbey of Lindores ; and there is added "i chalder, xi bolls, ii firl., ii pks. meal."

There appears to have been no Manse or glebe at Balmerino before the Reformation ; the vicar—if there was one—being, doubtless, one of the Monks of the Abbey. The General Assembly in 1581 requested that an Act of Parliament should be passed ordaining "that ministers who teaches at Abbey Kirks be provyded with glebes and manses as well as others." In 1593 also supplication was made by the General Assembly to Parliament that "in all kirks, alsweill Abbay and Cathedral kirks or uthers quhatsumever, quhere either the haill parochine is kirkland [which was the case in Balmerino], or ane part thereof only, and there has been neither manses nor glebes knawn to appertayne thereto of old," four acres of kirk land should be granted for a glebe, most commodious and nearest to the Kirk.† On the 17th of March 1590 the Presbytery of St Andrews "ordanis Mr Thomas Buchanan and James Melvin to give institution to Mr Thomas Douglas of the personage of Balmerinoch, and give in lyk maner designation of his manss and gleib;" and about the same period Manses and glebes are ordered to be designed for several other ministers of the Presbytery.

* Balmerino Writs.

† Booke of the Universal Kirk of Scotland. Row's History, p. 88.

On the 1st of July 1590 the Presbytery again ordains two of its members to design a Manse and glebe to Mr Thomas Douglas at Balmerino "conform to the Act of Parliament." And again, on the 28th of July 1593, a similar order is issued. We may presume that a Manse and glebe were given to Mr Douglas at Balmerino for the first time soon after the last mentioned period. It is probable that the ministers of Balmerino lived down to that period at Logie, where there would be a Manse and glebe from before the Reformation. When these were obtained at Balmerino, they were somewhere near the Abbey—we have not been able to ascertain the precise spot—till the year 1682, in which year they were removed to Bottomcraig, as shall be afterwards noticed.

In a charter of the Abbey lands and tithes acquired by Lord Balmerino from the Crown in 1607, by which he was held bound to pay out of the tithes sufficient stipends to the ministers of Balmerino, Logie, and Barry, these stipends were each fixed at four chalders of victual, whereof, in the case of Balmerino, two bolls were to be of wheat; of the rest, two parts to consist of oatmeal, and the third part of bear; and a hundred merks additional in money; with communion elements and a sufficient Manse and glebe; the ministers being at the same time relieved of the burden of keeping the churches in repair.* But besides the above, Mr Douglas retained his allowance from the Abbey of Lindores, which is thus stated in the Books of Assignation under the year 1615, "iiii bolls, i firl., i pk. bear; i chalder, xi bolls, ii firl., ii pks. meal, according to his pension."†

In explanation of the ministers being relieved from the obligation to repair their churches, it is necessary to state

* Balmerino Writs.

† In 1617 a chalder was valued at 100 merks. (Connel on *Tithes*). The value of money was being rapidly depreciated. In 1560 the value of a chalder was equal to 20 merks. It is now nearly equal to 300 merks.

that before the Reformation the parson or rector of a Parish was obliged to uphold the chancel, while the parishioners had to keep the body of the Church in repair. An Act of the Privy Council of the year 1563 apportioned the burden between the parson and parishioners—the former being subjected in one-third, and the latter in two-thirds of the expense, whether the Church had, or had not a chancel.*

We have several notices of Mr Douglas in Calderwood's History of the Kirk, and in the Synod, Presbytery, and other Records of the period. A paper in Calderwood makes mention of "many dissolute persons, whose corrupt lives could never abide ecclesiastical discipline, being loosed, to invade the lives and shed the blood of the ministers of God's Word, whereof lamentable examples are in sundry corners of the country, as Mr Thomas Douglas," and others. A subsequent notice explains what this refers to. Amongst "certain grieves" of the General Assembly given in to His Majesty on the 20th of February 1587 occurs the following:—"Item, Mr Thomas Douglas, minister of Logy, was cruellie invaded by Johne Forret, brother to the laird of Forret, as he came from his kirk on Sunday, and his bluid shed, and no remedie putt thereto."

The Minutes of the Presbytery of St. Andrews contain many curious entries in reference to this case.† On the 20th of October 1586 John Forret appeared before the Presbytery, in compliance with the advice of some of his friends, and offered to submit himself to the discipline of the Church "for

* Dunlop's Parochial Law, p. 4.

† The volume referred to contains the Presbytery Minutes from October 1586 to April following, and from October 1589 to December 1605. This Record was recovered by the late Dr Buist of St. Andrews, and is very curious as being one of the oldest volumes of Presbytery Records extant, and as containing interesting notices of the celebrated Andrew Melville, and of the early working of Presbyterian Church government. It would be very desirable to have selections from it published.

removing of the sklander committed by him in the schedding of the bluid of Mr Thomas Douglas," though he afterwards "denied that he had offendit Mr Thomas, but affirmed that Mr Thomas offendit him." The Presbytery ordered both parties to appear on the 27th of October following,* and seventeen witnesses (among whom were George Stirk and David Stirk, no doubt, of Ballindean) were summoned to give evidence regarding the "invasion" of Mr Douglas. Subsequently the Presbytery found it sufficiently proven by the report of three ministers appointed to examine the witnesses, that "Jhone Forett and his servand lay in waitt for the said Mr Thomas Douglas for the space of thrie hours efter his sermone maid at Balmerinoche, and thairafter at ane convenient place persewed and invadit him, and drew his bluid, and, except certane persons viewers-[?] had intervenit, the said Mr Thomas had bene in danger of his life." The Presbytery then resolved to petition the King and Secret Council "that the said Jhone may be severely punished in example of uthers, and that the said Mr Thomas may without damage resort and returne fra his kirkes, and do at all uther times his lawful busines."

On the 22d of December of the same year three members of Presbytery are sent to John Forret to induce him to submit to the discipline of the Church, and the week following he appears, and confesses that he "sklanderit the Kirk in the said fact, and offers to submit to the Kirk willinglie." (There is here a long blank in the Presbytery Minutes). On the 7th of May 1590 the Presbytery again orders him to appear and satisfy for his scandals against the Church. Accordingly he appears on the 14th before the Presbytery,

* It was then the practice of Presbyteries to meet every week—a practice derived from the weekly meeting of the brethren for religious exercises (hence called "The Exercise") out of which Presbyteries arose.

when an extraordinary scene occurs. Having first confessed himself guilty of another scandal of which he stood accused :—

“Secundlie, being desyrit to satisfie for the sklander committit aganis the kirk in drawing of the bluid of Mr Thomas Douglas, minister at Balmerinoch, he denyit the fact, notwithstanding of the tryall wherebie he was convict of the said fact. Ane act whereby he confessit the same, and submittit himself to the kirk, wes productit and red in his presence ; qlk. tryall and actis he querelit of falsett, saying we micht writt upon [him] in our buikis quhat we pleasit, saying he wes not of purposs to persew the said Mr Thomas, and gif it had bene his purposs to have persewit him, it suld not have bene his bluid bot his lyfe. Quhairunto Mr Thomas answerit that he praisit God that his lyf wes never in his hand, bot, contrare, the said Jonis lyfe wes in his hand, and God gave him victorie over him at that tyme ; in signe and token thairof the said Mr Thomas brak the said Jhonis sword. Upon the qlk. occasioun [*i.e.*, in presence of the Presbytery] he utterit sic language to the said Mr Thomas, Thou nor nane that appertenis to the dar stand up and vow that in my face. And thairupon he cutt his gluif, and kuist the half thairof to the said Mr Thomas, provoking him ; sayand thairof, Thou or ony in the kin dar tak it up and meit me in ony place. And when as Mr Nicoll Dalgleiss said he wes far in the wrang falsefying the acts and process of the presbyterie, qlk. we behuifit to hald for treuth, and all his alledgances in the contrare for leis, and that he behavit himself ungodlie and barbarouslie in using sic minassing and bosting in the presence of this auditor, and wes not to be sufferit, and to behave in so doing, bot aucht to be commandit to depart from us, that we may do our turnis in Goddis fear without molestatioun, the said Jon answerit, I ken you weill aneuch, we sall meit in ane uther place ; and quhen Mr Nicol answerit, Suppos ye slay ane minister this

day, ane uther the morn, the thrid the thrid morn, thair will be ay sum that will call blak blak, condemn your wicketnes, and dischaige thair conscience, notwithstanding all your bosting ; and for me, this is the first day that ever I saw you or knew you. I have nought to say to you, bot I heit your manners. And thir things were done in presense of the haill brethering assemblit in the New Colledge schules, qlk. extraordinare and ungodlie behaviour the haill brethering condemnet as ane gret contempt of the majestie of God in the persons of his servants thair convent, and as ane wechtie sklander done to the haill Kirk of this countrie. And therfer ordanis commissioun to be gevin to Mrs. Andrew Melvin and Thomas Douglas, till propon this matter to Mr. Röt. Bonor and the presbyterie of Edr., that thai may complain to the Kingis Majestie, that ordor may be takin with sic ane extraordinare sklander. Ordanis Mr Patrick Wemyss to teach in Balmerinoch kirk on Sunday nixttocum."

Three weeks after this scene John Forret appeared again, and offered to satisfy the Church according to such form as the Presbytery should appoint ; and his offer was accepted. The following week, however, the Presbytery refused to prescribe a form of repentance to him, till he should make "a more simple and cleir confessioun of the sklander" in regard to Mr Douglas. It is evident throughout the whole proceedings, that Forret's object was to get himself freed from Church censure without making any real acknowledgment of his guilt. There is nothing more recorded in the Presbytery Minutes regarding him. Probably in consequence of this case, the General Assembly petitioned the King in 1590 for "a law and ordinance against them that trouble and hurt ministers going to their kirks, and executing their offices."*

* Calderwood's History (Wodrow Soc. Ed.), vol. iv., pp. 424, 661 ; v., p. 107.

The Records of the Presbytery of St Andrews contain also the following entries :—

11th June 1590.—“Ordanis Mr Thomas Douglas to baptiss the laird of Forett's bairn at the kirk of Balmerinoch.”

2d July 1590.—“Ordanis the minister of Kilmany to baptiss the laird of Forrett's bairne, upon conditioun that he acknowledge his falt in presenting ane bairne of his to the bishop of St Andros to be baptisit, and [be] suspensit for the tyme fra all function in the kirk, and that he also at the first occasioun be reconcilit to Mr Thomas Douglas, qlk. the said laird promisit to fulfil in presence of the hail bretherin.”

23d October 1590.—“Ordanis ane writting to be direct to the laird of Forrett, desyryng him and his servandis not to resort to the kirk of Kilmany, for eschewing of farder inconvenientis, and to desyre him to resort to the kirk of Balmerinoch, according to the act of the presbyterie, ay and until their awn parochie kirk be reedifit.”

4th June 1590.—“Ordanis everie minister within this presbyterie to intime to their congregations the present necessitie and strait of the kirk of Geneva, with exhortations to support thair extreme indigence be reason of the lairge saige, according to brotherlie love and charitie.” Contributions were appointed to be taken up from Balmerino and the neighbouring parishes by Mr Andrew Melville, the Abbot of Lindores, and Robert Cairney, “goodman of the Grange.”

17th March 1591.—“Ordanis the Sessione of the kirk of Balmerinoch to cause violatoris of the Sabbath day publictlie to make publict repentance thairfor, and thaim of the said parochin that hes commissioun of the King [to] traville to upleft twentie sh. fra everie one of thame, according to the Act of Parliament.”

It may be here stated that Presbyteries were first formed in 1581. One was established at Falkland; but in 1582 the

ministers of the eastern portion of its bounds were ordained to be joined to the Presbytery of St Andrews, and those of the western portion to that of Dunfermline. Cupar Presbytery was first formed in October 1592, by the separation of its parishes from the Presbytery of St Andrews.*

In the General Assembly of August 1590, a Mr Thomas Douglas "was accusit for marriage of my Lord Errole and his spouse without his owne parochie, being ane of his parochiners."† Calderwood states that Errol was married in Fife.‡ If this Mr Thomas Douglas was the minister of Balmerino, and if there is no error in the record, Lord Errol must have been about that time temporarily resident in Balmerino Parish, in which, at least, he had no permanent abode.

In February 1597-8, the Synod of Fife appointed Mr Douglas one of seven of their number to remonstrate with the King, "in all humble reverence and dutiful manner," against certain changes which he proposed to introduce in the constitution of the Kirk, with a view to its subversion.§

In 1601 Mr Douglas was one of two Commissioners sent by the General Assembly to Perth and Strathearn, (other Commissioners having been sent at the same time to other parts of the country), to try the brethren in the ministry there "in their life, doctrine, qualification, and conversation, and how they have behaved themselves touching the rents of their benefices, whether they have sett tacks of the same but [*i.e.* without] consent of the General Assembly or not, and so delapitated the same; to depose such as deserve deposition;" to plant ministers where necessary, and for other similar purposes; and to report to the next General Assembly.||

We have now to notice another "invasion" of Mr

* Row's History (Wodrow Soc. Ed.), pp. 85, 90, 151.

† Booke of the Universal Kirke, p. 345.

‡ Calderwood, v., 267. § Ibid., v., 578. || Ibid., vi., 123.

Douglas, which is thus recorded in Pitcairn's "Criminal Trials :"—

"INVASION OF A MINISTER, near the Tolbooth, where the Privy Council were sitting in judgment.

"June 29, 1603.—Walter Grahame, servitour to Mr Robert Williamson, wryter.

"Dilatit, accusit, and persewit by Dittay [indictment] of of the crymes following, viz :—That the said Walter, vpon deidlie malice consavit be him aganis Mr Thomas Douglas of Stannypeth, Minister at Balmirrieno, and haifing forgit a quarrel aganis him, for the revenge of certane injurious speiches, allegit gevin be the said Mr Thomas Douglas to the said Mr Robert Williamsone, his maister, vpon the xxj day of Junij instant, he vpon the xxij day of the said moneth of Junij, preparit to him selff ane grit foure-nuikit battoun of aik, of purpois to haif fellit the said Mr Thomas Douglas thair. Lykas the said Walter set vpon him, behind his back, vpon the hie streit of the burch of Edin-burgh, in the time of the Trinitie fair, a lyttel beneath the Stinkand-style [near the Tolbooth], the Lordis of Secret Counsall being within the said burgh, and haifing sittin at Counsall in the Tolbuth of the said burch, nocht passand ane half-hour befor the violence and invasion following ; and thair maist shamefullie, barbaruslie, and crewallie, without regard to the persoun of ane minister, and haifing never spoken with him ane word befor, invadit him, for his slauchter, with the said batoun ; strak him thairwith twa straikis vpon the heid, behind the richt lug, and hurt and woundit him thairwith, to the effusion of his bluid in grit quantitie ; and then fled and gat away," &c. On being afterwards apprehended, Graham confessed his crime ; and the assize, or jury, finding him guilty, he was sentenced to be "scurgit fra the Castell hill to the Nether Boll, and his richt hand to be strukin af at the Nether Boll, and thairafter to be banischit his Majestie's hail Dominiones."

At a meeting of the Synod of Fife in 1607, when the King's Commissioner demanded of each of the brethren severally, whether he would accept the so-called bishop (Gladstones) to be constant Moderator of the Synod, or not; those who should answer in the negative being declared to be rebellious, and threatened with being "put to the horn;" all refused excepting six ministers, of whom Mr Douglas was one; he being, apparently, not so averse as the majority were to the introduction of Episcopacy. At the Assembly of 1610, Mr Douglas was one of four members of the Presbytery of Cupar who consented to a modified Episcopacy.*

In 1610 there was some dispute about a "desk," or pew, in the Church of Balmerino, as appears from the following entry in the Synod Records of April 1611:—"The brether appoynted be the Synod halden in St Androis, in the month of October bypast, to deall for removing ane debait arysen for placing of ane desk in the Kirk of Balmernocht, reported that they had put the same to ane end."

In April 1613, Mr Douglas and Mr Patrick Lyndsay were appointed by the Synod of Fife Commissioners for "dealing" with Balfour, Lord Burleigh, about taking the Communion.†

After a modified Episcopacy had been introduced (in 1610), Mr Douglas was several times appointed by the Archbishop Moderator of the Presbytery, or, as it was now called, the "Exercise" of Cupar, and was for a long time on the Synod's "Committee for privy censures."‡

In the Records of the Diocesan Synod of St Andrews, under date, May 1614, occurs the following entry:—"Anent the complaint maid be Jhone Hay of Little Tarvatt and James Hay of Fudie against Mr Thomas Douglas, bearing in effect that the said Mr Thomas had taken from the said Jhon Hay VI^{te} ten [610?] liba. penaltie of ane band besyd the principall

* Calderwood, vi., 676; vii., 106.

† Synod Records.

‡ Ibid.

soume and hail profittes, and siclyk had seduced the said James, being ane simple young man, and caused him leave his friends and dispoone his lands, and deceived him be ane back band containing dyvers uncouth clauses, and binding the said James to impossibilities; the said Mr Thomas denying the complaint: In respect Mr David Kinneir, minister at Auchterhous, who is not ane member of this Synode, is lykwayes delated be the complainers to have concurred with the said Mr Thomas in the forsaid seductione, it is thought meitt that the complainers prosecutt thair actionne against the saids Mrs. Thomas and David befor the Lords of High Commissioun, to whome the Synode referres the sama." The Register of Sasines for Fife contains a Renunciation by Mr Douglas to Mr James Hay "of ane annual rent of 200 merks furth of Little Tarvet;" from which it may be inferred, either that this matter was settled by compromise, or that it was decided against Mr Douglas.

Under date, May 1614, the Synod Records mention a complaint made by Mr John Durie, minister at Logie, against Mr Douglas, and a petition from the former that the action subsisting between them might be submitted to some of the brethren as arbitrators, in compliance with an Act of Assembly in reference to such cases. It was submitted accordingly to arbitrators chosen by both parties; but the result is not recorded, nor is the matter in dispute specified.

In April 1617, the Synod, at the Lord Archbishop's desire, nominated fifteen of the brethren, of whom Mr Douglas was one, or any six or seven of them, as the Archbishop should advertize them, to attend with the Bishops at the approaching meeting of Parliament, and to concur with, and assist by their advice the Bishops, and others from various parts of the country, in regard to such questions as might be proposed by them to Parliament, without committing the Synod to their views or counsel.*

* Synod Records.

In the Assembly held at Perth in 1618, the celebrated Five Articles were passed, contrary to the wishes of the nation. The first of these Articles was, that the Lord's Supper should be taken by the communicants kneeling. At the Synod held at St. Andrews in April 1619, the Clergy were taken to account in regard to the observance of this ceremony, and we find Mr Douglas reporting that "he gave the elements with his awin hand to al the people, bot not kneeling, because he perceived the people urtherwise inclyned. He promised to keip the prescryved order and forme in al poynts, and to urge his people to conformitie." There appeared great unwillingness on the part of many of the neighbouring ministers to comply with the new method, and various excuses—some of them of an amusing nature—were made for their non-conformity. In regard also to the administration of the Sacrament at "Pasche," or Easter, the same backwardness was manifest in the "Exercise" of Cupar, and its members were ordered to comply, under pain of deprivation.*

In the year 1619, the Laird of Bottomcraig was killed by the Laird of Kirkton, who was at feud with him. (See Part IV., Chapter III). Strange to say, Mr Douglas was accused of having been accessory to the deed, as appears from an entry in Pitcairn's "Criminal Trials," under date, March 10, 1619, which is as follows :—

"Mr THOMAS DOUGLAS, minister at Balmirrienoche, Dilaittit of airt and pairt of the slaughter of vmquhile Thomas Creichtoun of Bodumcraig : committed betwix Balmirrienoche and Couper in Fyfe, vpon the xiii day of Februar last, 1619.

"The Justice, in respect of the seiknes of Jeane Carmelie, the defunctis relict, quha can nocht be present to concur in this persute, continewis this matter to the thrid day of the next Justice-air [Court] of the scherefdom of Fyfe, or sooner,

* Synod Records.

vpone fyftene dayis wairning: And ordainis the pannel to find cautioun for his re-entrie; quha fand James Douglas of Moirtoun, portioner of Gogar."

Crichton's wife died soon after the above date. As Mr Douglas continued minister of Balmerino, the charge against him must have been withdrawn, or sentence pronounced in his favour.

In October 1619, the Moderator of the "Exercise" of Cupar, on being examined by the Archbishop, in Synod, in reference to the order observed by the brethren "in their meetings at exercise and otherwise," reported certain complaints from the "Presbyterie;" one being "anent the disobedience of Mr Thomas Douglas, quha being requyred be the Moderator to be scryb to the presbyterie this last half yeir in his awin course, conforme to Acts maid thereanent, stubbornlie refusit aither to do it be himself in his awin cours, or to substitut another. The said Mr Thomas was gravilie rebuikit for his undewtiful refusal, and ordinit to conform himself to the Act maid in the Synod in April 1617; and for eschewing al controversie heirefter anent the supplying of that office, it is apoynted that in al tyme cumming they sall have a constant and ordinar clerk to be intertained upon the common expenses of the haill breithren yeirlie, conforme to the tenor of the foir-named Act."*

In 1626 the Moderator and brethren of the "Exercise" of St Andrews were appointed to determine some dispute between Mr Peter Hay of Naughton and Mr Douglas. They failed in doing so, and the matter, the nature of which is not stated, was again referred to the Exercises of St Andrews and Cupar, on behalf of each of the disputants respectively.†

Between 1603 and 1631, there were no fewer than four lawsuits, regarding the payment of teinds, between Lord

* Synod Records.

† Ibid.

Balmerino and Mr Douglas, in three of which actions the feuars in this Parish, or in Barry, were parties on Mr Douglas's side, and in the fourth, on Lord Balmerino's side.*

Mr Douglas was alive in June 1632, but seems to have died soon after. His ministry thus extended over fifty-four years at least, during the last ten or eleven of which he had, however, an Assistant. It must be confessed that he was somewhat of an Ishmael, and possessed much of the character of the race from whom he was sprung, which, in an earlier age, would have been displayed in doughty deeds of Border warfare.

On the 14th of August 1634, Mr Douglas's son, James, designed also of Airdit, was served heir to him in the lands of Stonypath, Langtoun, Dubend, tenement in Edinburgh, Broomholes, and acres in Scurrbank.† His other lands in this Parish were acquired by Robert Auchmouty—part of them in 1613, and the rest before 1622. Anne, daughter and heiress of James Douglas of Stanypath and Airdit, married Sir William Douglas of Glenbervie (descended from the Earls of Angus), who thus acquired James Douglas's lands.‡ Their only son, Sir Robert Douglas of Glenbervie, commanded the Scots Royals at the battle of Steinkirk in 1692, where he fell. The title then devolved on his cousin, Sir Robert Douglas, who changed the name of Airdit to that of Glenbervie, from which it was afterwards again changed to the original designation. Sir Robert Douglas, author of the "Peerage of Scotland," was the representative of this family.

* Balmerino Writs.

† Thomson's Abbreviate of Retours.

Balmerino Writs. Thomson's Abbreviate of Retours.

CHAPTER III.

MR. WALTER GREIG.

“From the keen resentive North,
 By long oppression, by religion roused,
 The guardian army came.
 There a flame
 Broke out, that cleared, consumed, renewed the land.”

THOMSON.

MR WALTER GREIG was appointed Assistant and Successor to Mr Douglas about the year 1622. His incumbency also, like that of his predecessor, was very long, extending over half a century of the most stirring period of our history. He seems to have taken a somewhat prominent part in the ecclesiastical questions so keenly agitated in those times ; and as the Minutes and other Records of the Kirk-Session, so far as they have been preserved, commence in 1632, we obtain from them many interesting notices of the history of the Parish during his ministry.

The valuation of the tithes of the Parish here calls for a brief explanation. Originally the tithes—or *teinds*, as they are called in Scotland—were drawn in kind. Every tenth sheaf was the property of the parson. After the Reformation, the tithes, as well as the Church lands, were gifted away by the King (under the burden of the Thirds for payment of stipends) to laymen, who were found to be much more rigorous in exacting tithes than the Churchmen had ever been ; while their severity was endured more impatiently, because the fact was well known to the people, that the possession of this kind of property by laymen was a

gross perversion of the purpose for which the tithe-system had been originally instituted. As no grain crop could be carried off the field till it had been teinded, the farmer often experienced much loss by the delay or caprice of the tithe-collector ; while, on the other hand, the latter was often defrauded of his just rights by various artifices on the part of the farmer. The teinds were thus a source of constant irritation between those two parties. This state of matters was put an end to by a Decreet-Arbitral pronounced by King Charles I. in 1629, proceeding upon submissions by all the parties interested, which was ratified by Parliament in 1633. It was thereby ordained that all teinds, both parsonage and vicarage, should be valued, and that the fifth part of the rental inclusive of the tithes, or the fourth part exclusive of them, should be held to be their value.* Permission was at the same time given to heritors to buy up their own teinds † from the titular to whom they belonged, subject to the payment of a sufficient stipend to the minister ; and the price was fixed at nine years' purchase, the ministers' stipends and six per cent. for an annuity to the King being first deducted from the annual value.‡ Sub-commissioners were appointed

* Lands to which a title was held *cum decimis inclusis, et nunquam antea separatis*, did not fall under the Decreet and Act of Parliament. Such lands, belonging before the Reformation to the Regular Clergy, and never having been teindable, are exempted from the payment of teinds. The theory upon which the exemption rests is, that the lands were *novalia*, that is, reclaimed by the labour and expense of the Monks themselves.

† The following teinds, however, cannot be sold :—Those formerly possessed by bishops, those granted to burghs &c. for pious uses, and those belonging to colleges and hospitals. The teinds were valued either in money or victual, according as the rent was paid in the one or the other. In those times rents were generally paid in victual, and hence most teinds are, fortunately for the Church, of this character.

‡ The Sovereign's annuity is not now exacted.

for the valuation of the teinds within each Presbytery, and thus a considerable part of the teinds of the whole country was soon valued. This settlement of an irritating question, the credit of which is due to Charles I., was a great boon to the Church; while its terms were very favourable to the landlords. It was, however, bitterly disliked by the then existing possessors of the teinds. It is still the basis of the system by which ministers' stipends are paid; heritors, though they may have purchased their own tithes, being still liable for successive augmentations of stipend, till the whole amount of the tithes, according to the original valuation, is exhausted.* But they are not farther liable, and have exclusive right to all increase of rent, since the teinds, once valued, can never be augmented. Many lands to which the Decreet and Act applied, and which, because they were not then arable, or for other reasons, were not valued at the time of the above settlement, have been valued since; and the value of the teind is, in every case, held to be the fifth of the rental *at the time of valuation*. This, together with the greatly increased rent of land since the seventeenth century, explains why it is that the best and longest cultivated lands pay, in many cases, less teind than those of inferior quality, and recently brought into cultivation.†

A great part of the parsonage teinds of the original Parish of Balmerino, of which Lord Balmerino was titular, (though some of the proprietors possessed their own teinds), ‡ was

* It was in 1617 that the stipend of each minister began to be paid, not out of a general fund, as before, but out of the tithes of his own Parish.

† In England tithes were not valued and commuted into a fixed charge till so late as 1836. This, along with the fact that all *Rectors* of parishes draw the whole tithes, explains why the value of many livings in the Church of England is so much higher than any in Scotland. In Ireland, also, the tithes are now valued.

‡ For example, in 1633 Peter Hay of Naughton acquired from Lord Balmerino a right to the teinds of his 36 acres of land in

valued in 1631. The teinds of Naughton, then in Forgan parish, of which the Archbishop of St Andrews was titular, were valued in 1637.*

In 1610 it was ordained by a "packed" Assembly that all presentations to parishes in time coming should be directed to the Bishop of the diocese, instead of to the Presbytery, as before; and that every minister should, at his admission, swear obedience to His Majesty and the Bishop. The Court of High Commission was one of the King's tools for the enforced establishment of Episcopacy. These remarks will explain the following extract from Row's History of the Church, under date, December 1635:—

"The bishop of St Androes caused summond Mr Walter Greig, minister at Balmerino, before the High Commission. He had been minister there fourteen years, and with the Bishop's awin consent was first admitted fellow-helper to Mr Thomas Douglas, an aged minister, and after his death served that cure without any lett five or six years;† yit because he was not conforme, they lay this fault to his charge, that he had not taken that ministrie lawfullie upon him, because he had never receaved collation from his ordinaire the Bishop. And therefore, for intruding of himself into that place he behoved to remove; but the Bishop gave him [till] Pasch nixt to provyde himself, by removing to some other place, for he was a married man, and had sixe children. And albeit Mr Walter cleared himself of any intrusion, yet they would not alter their wicked conclusion." Whether Mr Greig ultimately consented to receive collation from the Bishop, or if not, to what other turn of affairs he owed permission to retain his cure, does not appear.

Dochrone, Bangove, Cultra, and Byres—no doubt at nine years' purchase.

* See Appendix, No. XIV.

† Mr Douglas was, however, alive in 1632.

Our next extracts are from the Kirk-Session Records :—

23d February 1637.—"The whilk day it was acted by the Session, that if any browster suld be fund to sell aill to anie upon the Sabbath, after or befor noon, betwixt the ringing of the hindmost bell and the dissolving of the preaching, he sall pay 40 sh. and mak his repentance befor the pulpitt, and if anie sall buy it, he sall pay 20 sh. and mak his repentance."

It is well known that the attempt of Charles I. to impose Laud's Liturgy on the Church caused Scotland to unite in a solemn Covenant to defend its religion. It was the Confession and Covenant of 1581 which was now renewed. Prefixed to it was a summary of the Acts of Parliament condemning Popery, and it concluded with the Covenant proper, which contained these significant words: "We promise and swear, by the GREAT NAME OF THE LORD OUR GOD, to continue in the profession and obedience of the foresaid religion; and that we shall defend the same, and resist all these contrary errors and corruptions, according to our vocation, and to the uttermost of that power that God hath put in our hands, all the days of our life." The Covenant was first signed in Greyfriars' Churchyard, Edinburgh, on the 28th of February 1638, by vast multitudes, with extraordinary enthusiasm. The scene has often been described, and therefore we shall not dwell upon it. Suffice it to say that the enthusiasm was contagious, and rapidly spread over most parts of the country,* including this Parish, as is shown by the following entry :—

* "I was present," says Livingstone, "at Lanark, and at several other parishes, when on a Sabbath, after the forenoon's sermon, the Covenant was read and sworn, and may truly say, that in all my lifetime, except one day at the Kirk of Shotts, I never saw such motions from the Spirit of God, all the people generally and most willingly concurring. I have seen more than a thousand persons all at once lifting up their hands, and the tears falling down from their eyes." (Life, quoted by Cunningham, Church Hist. of Scot., ii., 83.)

18th March 1638.—“The Confession of Faith, together with the band [*or* Covenant], were publicly read in the kirk ; all the persons present held up their hand in testimonie of their consent, except eleven.”

9th September 1638.—“The whilk day the minister, elders, and deacons being convened in their Session, they all with ane consent chose Michael Balfour of Grange to repair to the Presbyterie of Cupar the next day of the meitting of the said Presbyterie, and thereafter, as suld be thoct expedient, to concurr for choosing Commissioners to be sent unto the Generall Assemblie.”

This was the famous Assembly which sat in Glasgow in November and December of that year, and overturned Episcopacy, which the King had laboured so long, and by the most arbitrary means, to establish. The words pronounced by the Moderator, the celebrated Alexander Henderson, minister of Leuchars, at the conclusion of this Assembly, show the spirit by which it was animated :—“We have cast down the walls of Jericho ; let him who rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite.” Both parties now prepared for war.

27th October 1639.—“The whilk day we celebratt the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, whilk was the first time wherein we began to have it twice in the zeir.”

25th December 1639.—“The whilk day the session being convened, after the incalling of the name of God, the minister recommendit unto the elders the practice of familie exercises, and required the practise of it not only in everie one of their own families, but also in the families in their quarter.”

Our next extracts from the Kirk-Session Records refer to an important era in the history of the Parish :—

7th May 1640.—“That day the Presbyterie of Cupar did visitt the kirk, and all the heritors who were present did condiscend to have ane schoole, and did consent to contribut

two merks for everie plough, for the interteining thereof."

5th December 1641.—"Mr. James Sibbald was entered to be Schoolmaster and Reader."*

As the existing Records of the Presbytery of Cupar do not commence till the year 1646, there is no other record of the above Presbyterial Visitation, at which the heritors were prevailed upon to establish a Parochial School. The value of such a boon will be easily understood. The people were not, however, entirely uneducated till this period. From the Reformation downwards the Church made strenuous exertions to have schools established in every parish. In the First Book of Discipline it was proposed that every church should have a school attached to it; that every notable town should have a college; and that the three Universities then existing should be liberally endowed out of the property of the Church—designs truly patriotic, and which were thwarted only by the alienation of the Church lands and tithes to a needy and greedy nobility. But though unable to *endow* schools, the Presbyterian Church—ever the warm advocate of the education of every class of the community—established many throughout the country; and where there was no school, the Reader or Minister taught the children the Bible and the Catechism—at that time the Catechism of Geneva. It was not till 1633 that Parliament ratified an Act of Council of the year 1616, declaring that every parish should have a school at the expense of the parishioners, which was followed by a great increase in the number of schools, as in the case of this Parish. Many parishes, however, remained unsupplied till the year 1696, when an Act of Parliament was passed *compelling* heritors to establish a school in every parish, and to contribute a salary to the teacher.

* The school was first placed at the village of Balmerino, and was afterwards removed to Bottemcraig. The schoolmaster's salary was 100 merks, besides fees, house, and garden.—(See Appendix, Nos. VI. and XV.)

The Civil War, which led to the execution of King Charles I. and Cromwell's usurpation, was now commencing, and the most popular ministers of the Church were sent in succession to the army as its chaplains, who by their prayers and stirring appeals animated the courage of the Covenanting army. One of these ministers was Mr. Greig.

7th March 1641.—"The whilk [day] the minister schew unto the Session that he was appointed by the Presbyterie to goe to the armie, to attend Colonell Leslie's regiment of horse, lykas he went upon the 8 day." "Upon the aucht of June [adds the minister himself] I returned."—(*Kirk-Sess. Rec.*)

"The Covenanters' army (writes Row, in reference to this period) now in and about Newcastle, as they were orderly, so they were devout. It was refreshful to hear and see them; for upon their march, when they came to their quarters at night, there was nothing to be heard almost through the whole army but singing of psalms, and praying or reading of Scriptures, in their tents and huts."*

At this period there was usually an "examination" of the parishioners in Church previous to the Communion.

30th February 1642.—It was "ordainit that intimation suld be maid to warne all the people to come to the examinatione with all possible diligence, and the examinatione endit, to celebrat the Lord's Supper, whlk. was done."—(*Kirk-Sess. Rec.*) (It was on the 6th of March.)

In 1642 a proposal had been made to "transport" Mr. Greig to some other parish; but it was opposed by the heritors, elders, and deacons, and with success.

From the Synod Records we learn that Mr. Greig was one of ten ministers of the Synod of Fife (another being the celebrated Samuel Rutherford) who were chosen in April 1643 to assist in the trial and election of Regents, or Pro-

* William Row's Supplement to the Autobiography of Robert Blair; (Wodrow Society Ed.), p. 163.

fessors, for the vacant places in the two "Philosophie Colleges" in the University of St. Andrews.

We resume our extracts from the Kirk-Session Records.

3rd September 1643.—"The qlk. day Mr. James Sibbald, reader, red the ordinance directit for chairing all men betwixt 60 and 16 to be in thair airmes again the next advertisement."

The following very interesting notices refer to the "Solemn League and Covenant" agreed upon in August 1643 by the General Assembly and the Convention of Estates, in furtherance of the intensely desired conversion of England to Presbytery, and adopted by the English Parliament and the Westminster Assembly on the 22d of September.

22d October 1643.—"The qlk. day the Covenant was red and explicat be the minister, and intimate to be subscriyved and sworne to keip with solempne humiliatione, and fasting, and praying the nixt Sabbath day; and the hoall elders and all others being demandit quhat they thought of the same, answered, all in ane voyce, that they war most willing to subscriyve it, and wald most heartlie and willinglie sweare to it, to observe and keip the same."

29th October.—"The qlk. day the Covenant was red be the minister, and after the people had all verie solempnlie sworne to observe and keip the same, it was verie heartlie subscriyved be thame selves quha could subscriyve thame selves, and be Mr. James Sibbald, reader heir, for thame that can not wreat thame selves, at their commands."

Mr. Greig's services were again required in the field of war.

22d January 1644.—"The qlk. day the minister took his journey to goe with the airmie."

It was to Lord Balcarres's regiment that Mr. Greig was sent on this occasion as chaplain. He must have gone with it to England, as he was absent till the beginning of June. He thus only missed by a single month witnessing the great

battle of Marston Moor, which was fought on the 2d of July, when the Covenanters were victorious over the King's forces. The county of Fife was very zealous in the Presbyterian cause, contributing largely to the army, and suffering severe losses in some of the engagements.

Following the above entry in the Kirk-Session Records are the names of the neighbouring ministers who officiated in Mr. Greig's absence, till the 2d of June. On the 14th of April it is recorded :—"The qlk. day no preaching, but reading heir." This refers, no doubt, to the reading of the Scriptures and of the Book of Common Order—the ancient Liturgy of the Reformed Church of Scotland—by Mr. Sibbald, reader and schoolmaster. This Liturgy was not discarded till the Westminster Assembly, then sitting, issued our present Directory for Public Worship; and even then it was not formally repudiated or repealed by our own General Assembly, but was quietly allowed to drop into disuse.*

8th September 1644.—"The qlk. day the fast [was] solemnlie keipit heire, and ordainit to be keipit solemnlie everie Sabbath until the tyme it sall [please] God in his mercie to settle peace in this kingdome." (*13th October.*—A public fast intimated for the following Tuesday and Thursday.)

2d March 1645.—"The qlk. day thair came a letter fra Captaine Balvaird, shewing that 3 of his sojers, quha went for this parochie, gat not clothes from the publick. To thame was given 6 dolours out of the box, to be gathered in againe through the parochie, as was concludit be the Sessione."

It appears from the Synod Records that at this time it was a common practice in the district for great multitudes to assemble at "penny bridals," which led to evil results. Accordingly, in May 1645, the Synod passed an Act, similar to other Acts made by the Justices of the Peace, "for restraining of penny bridals to the number of twentie persons," and

* See the "Wodrow Correspondence," III., 494, (Wodrow Soc. Ed.)

also for limiting the number of persons present at marriage "contracts" and baptisms to six or seven, and for censuring "hostares" who made such feasts.

The Kirk-Session Records contain the following :—

28th September 1645.—"The qlk. day ane solemne thanksgiving was keipit heir for the gracious victorie obtainit on the 13th September at Philip hauche be General Major Leslie againe Montrois airmie."

27th September 1646.—"The qlk. day it was concludit be the Sessione that George Jack [an elder] sould be cited before the Sessione to schew quherfore he abode from the Sessione." 4th October.—"The qlk. day George Jack, being cited, compeired before the Sessione, and confessed that he abode from the Sessione because Robert Balfour had wronged him, in saying that he was als ill as Montrois."

In 1646 the Synod Records inform us that the Laird of Naughton was appointed one of a Committee of Synod to adopt measures for the suppression of "sturdie beggars;" that Mr. Greig was one of a deputation sent by the Synod to Parliament to counteract the efforts of those who wished "to work a division between the two united kingdoms;" and that he and Mr. James Wedderburn were ordered by the Synod (which, Bishop Guthrie bitterly remarks in his Memoirs, "had always been forward in anything that was called Reformation") "to press with all earnestness Alex. Inglis to execute their Act for removing from the Kirk of Dairsie monuments of superstition, which has been so long delayed."

9th May 1647.—"The quhilk day George Stirk [of Bal-lindean] receivit 29 lib. 5 sh. collectit in the parochie to be givine to the heariet people in Argyle."—(*K.-Sess. Rec.*) The reference is to "M'Donald's bloody Irishes," as Row calls them, who ravaged Argyle in the royal cause.

At this time, and long afterwards, Presbyteries were in the habit of periodically visiting all the Churches within their

bounds. The visitation was held on a week-day, after having been intimated by edict read from the pulpit by a neighbouring minister. The proceedings were commenced with a sermon, which was usually, though not always, preached by the minister of the parish from his ordinary text; it being then customary to preach a lengthened course of sermons from a single text, called the minister's "ordinary." The Presbytery then considered, and pronounced an opinion on the doctrine they had just heard. The next step was to remove the minister, and to examine the elders upon oath concerning his performance of duty, and the whole of his conduct, and also concerning their own conduct. The elders were then removed, and the minister and congregation were similarly interrogated concerning them. Then the precentor, schoolmaster, and session-clerk (who were commonly one and the same person), and the beadle were dealt with in the same manner. The heads of families were then removed, and the minister and elders were examined in regard to them. Lastly, the state of the Church fabric, Communion cups, churchyard walls, Manse, glebe, and minister's stipend, the salaries of the other officials, and the state of the poor were inquired into. Such was the general method observed, though, of course, it varied with the circumstances of each case. The only instance of a Presbyterial visitation of Balmerino before the Revolution, the record of which has been preserved, is narrated in the minutes of Presbytery as follows:—

"At Balmerinoch, 29th of July 1647. The whilk day Mr Jon Lytlejohn hade the exhortatione from Coll. 2 and 5. The edict was returned indorsate and execute.

"The minister removed, the elders particlairlie sworne anent the carriage of the minister and the severall carriage one of another, all of them gave a verie large and honest testimonie to ther minister, as to a faithfull and painefull ser-

vant of Jesus Christ in his doctrine and conversatione, and in the dischaarge of everie pairt of his calling.

"All the elders professed they had familie worshippe in their families.

"The minister did give them ane honest testimonie as duetiful and diligent in their places : and everie one reported honestlie of another. They ar exhorted to further diligence, and speciallie to stirre up the spirit of prayer in them ; and to repress the common sinnes of drunkennes and swearing in themselves, and to reprove them in others.

"The Sessione booke seen, tryed, and approven.

"The heritors present promised to joyne, according to their proportionnes, for repairing of the minister's house.

"The schoolemaster removed, the minister and elders reported that he did attend verie diligentlie ; the elders exhorted to further the sending of the bairnes to the schoole.

"The Presbyterie requyred to deal with Stainepath [Mr James Douglas of Stonypath, son of the previous incumbent] for secureing that pairt of the schoolemaster's provisione payed by him, did appoynt Mr John Macgill, elder, George Thomsone, and Hilcainie to meitt with the minister, George Stirk, and George Jack for that effect."

The Kirk-Session Records thus relate the taking of the Covenant by the parishioners for the third time :

10th December 1648.—"The quhilk day ane solemne fast was intimat to be keipit heir on the 14th day, qlk. was Thursday, and on the 17 day also. On the 10th day foresaid, the Covenant was red, and intimatione maid that the Covenant was ordainit to be renewed, and sworne, and subscryvit on the 17 day ; as also the informations of the present condicione of affaires, and declarations of the General Assemblie was red the said day ; as also the explanatioun of a former Act for renewing of the Solemne League and Covenant, of the dait the 6 of October, was red heir."

14th December.—"The fast keipit here solemnlie, and a

solemne acknowledgement of publick sinnes and breaches of the covenant read heir."

17th December.—"The quhilk day the fast keipit heir solemnlie, and the covenant was verie heartlie sworne and subscrivit."

On the 31st of December 1648, Mr Greig asked advice from his brethren of the Presbytery concerning a woman in his parish, named Helen Young, who had confessed herself to be a witch. A committee of five ministers was appointed to act with Mr Greig in examining her, and to report. Having examined the woman, they reported that "still she confesses herself to be a witch, but that when she is posed upon particulars, she seems to them either to dissemble, or else to be distracted. But because she spak something reflexing on Helen Small and Elspeth Seth, the brethren think it right to goe on with the examination of these two," and recommend Mr Greig to deal in the meantime with Helen Young in the Kirk-Session. Helen Small, who appears to have been for a long time reputed as a witch, resided in Monimail parish, where she was accordingly examined, as were also several witnesses against her. She subsequently appeared before the Presbytery, and being asked "why she had not been careful to be purged of that scandal," answered, that "she could not stop their mouths, and God would reward them." Elspeth Seth resided in Balmerino parish.

18th January 1649.—Mr Greig reported to the Presbytery the death of Helen Young "by sickness." The other two comparred before the Presbytery and were summoned to compear again.

15th March.—"The whilk day Andrew Patrick compeir-
ing, and being examined, declares that in the last goe-summer [beginning of autumn] save one, as he was coming furth of the Galrey to goe to his owne house, betwixt eleven and twelve hours at even, as he was in the west side of Henry

Blak his land, he saw 7 or 8 women dancing, with a meikle man in the midst of them, who did wear towards him till they came to a little loch, into which they were putting him, so that his arms were wett to the shoulder blaid, and that he knew none of them except Elspeth Seth, whom, as he affirms, he knew by her tongue, for he heard her say to the rest, He is but a silly drunken larde, let him goe. Being enquired what he was doing that way so late, answered that he had been in John Reikie his house, tailleur in Galrey, scheaping clothes; and that he had sent for a quart of aill, and, staying whil it was drunk, it was late. Being enquired whether he went after that fear, answered, he went to his owne house, and that he cried so before he came near his house, that they who were in his house opened the doore, and came furth and mett him, and that he went into his house with great fear and all wett." Being questioned why he did not reveal the matter presently thereafter, he answered that, "upon the morne he told it to Alexander Kirkaldie." "Elspeth Seth being called, compeirs, and denyes all." Andrew, being further asked if he had any other proof of her guilt, answered, that "one morning he saw her in the country, and that he had a little dog that barked despitefully at her. She desired him to stay the dog; he answered, I would it would worry you. Thereafter the dog never eated."

The case was at length referred to the Synod, which "ordained the Presbyterie of Cowper in their several pulpits to desire all that has any delations to give in aganist Elspeth Seath, suspect of witchcraft, to declare the same." Many witnesses were accordingly examined before the Presbytery. The most important were the following:—

"Elspeth Seith being confronted with Jean Bruise, the said Jean declares that Elspeth Seth had said to her sister, Is your kow calved? The younge lasse answered, Know ye not that our cow is calved? The said Elspet replied, There is milk be-west, and milk be-east, and ale in David Sten-

nous' house, and a hungry heart can get nane of it : the deil put his foot among it. And before that tyme to-morrow their kow would eat none : whereupon they went to find Elspeth Seith, but she keiped her close within her house four days, and was not seen : but the said Elspet affirmed that the waid was in her doore. At last the said Jean went to her, and desired her to come see their kow, and desyred some seeds from her. She answered she had no seids, but she should get some ; who came with the seeds sometimes wet, and sometimes dry, and the said Jean affirms that the said Elspet went in to see the kow, and laid her hand upon her bak, and said, Lamby, lamby, ye'll be well enough, and from that time the kow amended. It is also declared by the said Jean, that she used to sit down in the way when she met anybody.

"Isobel Oliphant being examined, declared that her cow, with the rest of the kine, used to pluk thak out of Elspeth Seith's house, the said E. S. came furth and strak her cow. But before the morrow, she affirmed, the said Elspet did cast a cantrip on her cow, that she would not eat, nor give milk, but did dwyne on a long time till she died. The said Isobell declares that she did sit down in the gate [*i.e.* road] ordinarily.

"Janet Miller being called and confronted with the said Elspet, declares that she came and looked in at Elspeth Seth's door, and did see her drawing a cheyne tether, and thereafter the said Elspeth took the tether, and did cast it east, and west, and south, and north.* She asked her what she was doing ; ansered, I am even looking at my kow's tether. The said Janet affirms that it is not a year since, and it is evidently knowne that she had not a cow this 16 year.

* Witches were said to have the power of making the milk of their neighbour's cow flow into their own vessels by drawing, or milking (as it was termed) a tedder in Satan's name, and circulating it in a direction contrary to the sun's course.

"The said Elspet denies all, and would have used violence to the said Janet, if she had been permitted.

"Jean Anderson being called and confronted with the said Elspet, declared that the said Elspet required milk, and she gave her bread, but no milk. And when she went to milk her cow, she fand nothing but blood first, and thereafter blak water all that season.

"Isobel Blak being called and confronted with the said Elspet Seth, declares nothing, but that she used ordinarily to hurch down in the gate lyk a hare.

"Compears John Black, who declares that he saw a hare sucking a cow, and that she ran in among the hemp towards Elspeth's house.

"Margaret Boyd is confronted with said Elspeth, and declares that her goodman Robert Brown went to death with it, that Elspeth Seth and the other two did ryde him to death : which he declared before the minister's wife, Mr. James Sibbald, schoolmaster, and David Stennous, elder. She affirms also, that he asked his wife if she did not sie her goe away? She feared, and answered him, that she saw not, and immediately he was eased."

After the case had been some time pending, Elspeth Seth came to the Kirk-session requesting to be either acquitted or condemned. The Session "ordained the minister to supplicate the Parliament or the Counsell, or the Commissione of the Kirk to give warrant to desyre the Provost and Bailzies of Cuper to provyde ane house for the said Elspeth Seith, where she may abyd in furance untill the time she be put to tryel of her witchcraft, the parische of Balmirrino being oblyged for her entertainment during her abode in waird." The Justice-Depute having been applied to, gave his written opinion that there were sufficient grounds for her incarceration, in order that she might be tried by the civil magistrate, and Mr Greig obtained a warrant from Parliament to the magistrates of Cupar to apprehend her. They, however,

"refused a prison for her, notwithstanding that the Session of Balmerinoch had sent two elders to be caution for her charges during her imprisonment," but offered the "thief's hole" for that purpose. The Presbytery then "represented to them the inconveniency of that place, and required a more fitting," urging them "to take her off their hand,"* put her in a close prison, and watch her at their own expense; permitting no one to offer violence to her, nor have access to her, but such as the Presbytery should appoint. They also "ordained two of the brethren to come in all the days of the week *per vices*, except Saturday, to exhort her and pray with her." The Session Records mention that four pounds were borrowed out of the box "for the entertainment of Elspeth Seth," which seems to refer to the period of her imprisonment. But whether she was actually imprisoned, or not, the magistrates of Cupar persisted in their refusal to have the custody of her, and "not finding it possible to get her otherwise tried, the Presbytery having called her before them, did ordain her, likeas she promised, to compear again whenever she should be required." There is nothing farther recorded.

Such is a brief summary of this curious case, which extended over a lengthened period, and fills many pages of the Presbytery and Kirk-Session Records. It throws a strange light on the religion of the time. The evidence proves only the gross superstition of both clergy and people, and the spite of the witnesses against a poor, though eccentric old woman. As for Andrew Patrick, it is clear that his story was framed for the purpose of having some excuse to offer for his falling into a pond, in consequence of having imbibed too much ale!

* Lyon, in his History of St. Andrews, in mentioning this case, from his anxiety to make the cruelty of the Presbytery appear as great as possible (which was, unfortunately, quite unnecessary!), misrepresents them as urging the magistrates "*to take off her hand.*" (Vol. II., p. 20).

The belief in witchcraft at that time was universal. The propriety of putting witches to death was defended in England even by such men as Selden and Sir Matthew Hale. In Scotland, Presbyteries were in the habit of ordering some of their members to be present at the execution of witches within their own bounds. It is recorded that in Fife alone no fewer than thirty witches were burnt to death during a few months of a single year of this period. Sir James Balfour states in his "*Annals*," that on the 20th of July 1649 he saw, in one afternoon, commissions directed by Parliament for trying and burning twenty-seven witches, besides three men and boys. This arose, no doubt, from the belief that it was necessary to enforce the Mosaic law, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to life." It would appear, however, that the unfortunate creatures charged with this crime not only tried, in many cases, to persuade their neighbours, for their own purposes, that they possessed supernatural power, but were really themselves impressed with this belief. Sir James Balfour gravely records that when the depositions of certain witches to Commissioners appointed in 1649 by the Lords of Council, for the trial and burning of witches, were read, there was one reported who "confessed that she had of late been at a meeting with the devil, at which there were above five hundred witches present." She was evidently testing the credulity of the learned Commissioners!

While Mr Greig was so zealous against witchcraft, he had other work on hand, with which we can more readily sympathize. In February 1649 he was appointed by the Presbytery, along with certain other members, to report on a metrical version of the Psalms, which had been sent down to Presbyteries for examination. This was the version of Francis Rous, a member of the English House of Commons, which, however, borrowed largely from a previous version bearing the name of King James, but really the work of Sir William Alexander of Menstrie. When Rous's version was revised,

with the help of that of the Laird of Rowallan, and that of Zachary Boyd, it was sanctioned by the General Assembly, and is the version still used in Scotland.

4th February 1649.—"The quilk day it was concludit that ther sould be weiklie catechising heir on the Wednesday at ten hours, and that everie quarter sould resort to the samen *per vices*, and all others that pleasses to come." (*K.-S. Rec.*)

Lamont of Newton, in his amusing Diary, informs us that in 1649 Mr Greig was one of five ministers appointed by the Synod "to attend the disputts for a regent's place in St Leonard's College," St Andrews—Mr James Sharpe, the future ill-fated Archbishop, being another. On the 10th and 11th of April the candidates "disputted." "All the tyme they had ther speeches, ther heads werre covered, but when they came to the disputte, they were uncovered. There were threes of the five ministers foresaid present at the disputts, viz. : Mr Alexander Moncrieff, Mr Walter Greige, and Mr James Sharpe, who had decisive voices in the electione of a Regent. Thir werre the first ministers that ever had voice in the electione of a Measter to ane of the Colledges there; the custome formerlie and of olde was, that everie Colledge had libertie to choose their own Measters." (But see a former case under the year 1643.)

4th March 1649.—"The quilk day Jannet Bell made her repentance befor the pulpit for sitting downe upon her kneis, and giving Mr James Sibbald, the schoolemaister, her maliesone." (*K.-S. Rec.*)

About this period Mr Greig was usually a member of the Commission of Assembly—a body not then constituted as at present, but composed of certain leading men nominated by the Assembly, and entrusted with great power—seventeen to form a quorum.

In February 1649 Mr Greig was a member of a Commission for trying certain of the Regents, or Professors of St Andrews

concerning their affection to the Reformation of religion, and the discipline of the Kirk.

2d September 1649.—“The qlk. day the Act concerning the receiving of Ingagees in the late unsuccessful warre against England to publick satisfactions was red heir, daitit at Edinburgh, 20 July 1649.” (*K.-S. Rec.*) The following also refers to the same matter :—11th December 1648.—“From the paroch of Balmerinoch delated Robert Rollok (inhabitant of Dundy, but resident in that paroch for a space by reason of the insurrection in Dundee) as having charge in the Engadgement, who, not compeiring, is delayed, and in the meantime suspended.” (*Presb. Rec.*)

The Engagement was a treaty between Charles I. and the Scottish Parliament in 1647, whereby the King bound himself to give Parliamentary sanction to the Solemn League and Covenant, to establish Presbytery in England for three years (his household retaining their own mode of worship), and afterwards to establish permanently whatever system the Westminster Assembly, with twenty Commissioners of his nomination, should decide on. The Commission of the General Assembly in 1648 (of which Mr Greig was that year, and previously, a member) condemned this as a half measure, and insisted on His Majesty taking the Covenant, and compelling others to take it; becoming a Presbyterian himself, and establishing Presbytery at once and permanently in England. But the Scottish Parliament disregarded these high demands, and marched an army, as a result of the treaty, into England. The army was soon defeated by Cromwell. In 1649 the Assembly ordained that all involved in the Engagement should submit to the discipline of the Church for their offence, or be excommunicated.

13 September 1649. “This day there was a lettre produced from Mr Walter Greig, showing that their was a legacy by his predecessor, Mr Thomas Douglas, of fifty merks to the schoolmaster, and because he fand difficulty in it, he

desyred the Presbytery's concurrence and advyse, which was promysed and granted." 20 *September*. "This day Mr Walter Greig declared, that James Douglas of Stanypathe had promised to give satisfacione to the Sessione anent the annuel rent of fyve hundreth merks for their schole."

Concerning this legacy nothing more is to be found in the Presbytery Records, which contain the above.

Hitherto the lands of Naughton had formed part of the Parish of Forgan. It would appear, however, that the inhabitants of these lands had always attended Balmerino Church. This arrangement was felt to be unsatisfactory for all parties, since the Naughton people would have no right to accommodation in a church to whose parish they did not belong, while the minister of Balmerino had the pastoral charge of a large number of families living on lands whose teinds were exempted from contributing to his stipend, that burden being thrown entirely on the teinds of Balmerino Parish, his income from which was, at the same time, inadequate. It was now therefore agreed to by the Laird of Naughton and the Heritors of Balmerino, that a process should be raised before the Commissioners for the Plantation of Kirks, for the disjunction of the lands of Naughton from Forgan Parish, and their annexation to that of Balmerino; and for the augmentation of Mr Greig's stipend, at the same time, out of the teinds of both parishes. In connection with this we may introduce the following from the Presbytery Records :—

16 *March* 1648. "The brether, considering the several provisions of ministers within their bounds, and finding many not sufficiently provided, did require them all, and most particularlie Mr Walter Greig, to use all lawful and ordinarie diligence to gett their provisiones helped; and Mr Walter Greig was peremptorily appoynted to use diligence to that effect, because formerlie he could not gett it done because of the malice and might of bishopes against him, which the

brether conceives should be ane motive to the Lords of Plantation now to sie him both the better provydit, and the more speedily despatched."

The consent of the Presbyteries of St Andrews and Cupar having been previously obtained, the process was raised by Mr Greig, and the decret of disjunction, annexation, and augmentation was pronounced by the Commissioners on the 28th of February 1650. After various formalities were gone through in the Church Courts, the annexation was formally completed on the 26th of May, and on the 7th of July following the Laird of Naughton applied for, and obtained from the Kirk Session, a seat in Balmerino Church. In 1653 he got permission to construct a burial-place for his family.

Mr Greig's stipend, which was formerly five chalders of victual,* and 110 merks in money, was now increased by 30½ bolls of victual, with the whole vicarage teinds † (being, as Lord Balmerino alleged, the whole remaining teinds of Balmerino, great and small, not heritably disposed, and resting in his hands); and also by one chalder of victual (two parts oats, and one part bear), three bolls of horse corn, and three tursses of oat straw, to be paid out of the lands of Naughton. The stipend, as augmented, would amount to 8 chalders, 1½ bolls of victual, 3 tursses of straw, and 110 merks in money, with the vicarage teinds of Balmerino, the value of which is not known. The augmentation was to commence with the crop and year 1649.

On the 22d January 1650, before the above decret was

* One chalder additional to the four first given to Mr Douglas seems to have been assigned to Mr Greig out of the teinds of the Parish, in place of the two chalders which Mr Douglas drew from the Abbey of Lindores.

† Some part of the vicarage teinds seems to have been paid to the minister before this time.

pronounced by the Court, we find Mr Greig stating to the Presbytery "that he had agreed with the heritor, my Lord Balmirrinloch, anent grasse for two kyne and one horse. Mr Walter desyred the Presbyterie's approbation, that it might be recommendit to the Commissione for Plantatione," and a Committee of Presbytery was appointed to "design" a grass glebe. But as there is no subsequent mention of this matter either in the Presbytery Records, or in the decret of 1650 it may be inferred that the grass glebe was not obtained probably on account of the opposition of some of the other heritors. The *present* grass glebe was not acquired till 1805.

The "lands of Naughton" thus annexed to Balmerino Parish did not, of course, include certain portions of the original Abbey lands which were then possessed, or were subsequently acquired by the Lairds of Naughton, and which were always in Balmerino Parish, viz., Easter Grange or Fincraigs, Pitmossie, Bangove, Docherone, and Kirkton. The question still remains, Were all the other portions of Naughton estate in Forgan Parish till then? This was virtually the point at issue in a recent litigation between the Crown and the Tutors of Miss Morison of Naughton regarding the further liability of certain of the lands of Naughton for augmentation of Balmerino stipend. The Lord Advocate maintained for the Crown that the Mains of Naughton, lands of Brownhills (now included in the farm of Little Inch), Gallowhills, Gallary, East and Mid Skur, and Kilburns had been always in the parish of Balmerino, and that their teinds had never been valued. On the other hand, it was contended for the Tutors of Miss Morison, that these lands had been valued as part of Naughton in 1637, and previous to 1650 had formed part of the parish of Forgan. The Lord Ordinary held the latter view to be correct. His judgment was affirmed, on appeal, by the Inner House on the 20th of July

1858.* The other lands of Naughton—Peasehills, Byrehills, Kirkhills, Cathills, Killukies, and Scrogieside were admittedly in Forgan parish till 1650.

We resume our notices and extracts from the Presbytery and Kirk-Session Records.

April 1650. Mr Greig was appointed one of a Committee of Presbytery, consisting of three ministers and as many elders, who were adjoining proprietors, to perambulate the parish of Kilmany, and to meet at Luthrie for that purpose.—(*Presb. Rec.*)

19th May 1650. "The quhilk day intimatione was maid of ane publick thanksgiving to be keipit heir solemnlie upon Thursday nixt, the 23d day of May, for the victorie obtained in the northe against James Grahame." (*K.-S. Rec.*) Soon after this defeat of Montrose, he himself was captured in Invernesshire, carried to Edinburgh, tried, and executed.

16th November 1650, being Sunday. A public fast was held in the Parish, and on the previous Saturday there was a "preparation" sermon. On the 20th of December there was a fast "for the King." (*K.-S. Rec.*) Both of these fasts were preparatory to the coronation of Charles II., which took place at Scone on the 1st of January 1651; the first of them being "for the general contempt of the Gospel," and the second "for the sins of the King, and his father's house."

* Yet Mr James Morison of Naughton stated in the Court of Teinds in 1803 that "these lands lay always in the parish of Balmerino." It is difficult to believe that Scurr and Kilburns were not originally in Balmerino parish, and did not form part of the estate of the Beuels, sold to Queen Ermengarde. Five acres of (West) Scurr, now included in Naughton estate, were admittedly always in Balmerino parish. There is still paid to the minister of Forgan the sum of 18s. 4d. of vicarage stipend from the lands of Byrehills and Cathills. ("Closed Record in Question between the Lord Advocate and Mrs Morison, &c., Oct. 29, 1856," and "Cases Decided in the Court of Session," 1857-8.)

16th January 1651. Mr Greig "informed the Presbyterie that he had received advertisement that ther had been such doctrine preached in the King's hearing by Mr William Livingstone, minister of Falkland, as required to be adverted, and that gave offence to some. The Presbyterie apointed that the said Mr William shall goe to the Commissione of the Kirk, and their cleir himself, as he himself desyred.' (*Presb. Rec.*)

March 1651. At the administration of the Communion there was divine service on the Wednesday, Saturday, and Monday. It was about this time that the custom of keeping sacramental fasts, and numerous other services, called "The Preachings," commenced; which were previously unknown, with, perhaps, the exception of a preparation service on the Saturday preceding the Communion. These "preachings" were then, and long afterwards, much more protracted than at present. All the neighbouring ministers were brought together to conduct the numerous Sabbath-day services required; and their own pulpits being thus empty, their congregations followed them—many of them joining in the Communion. Such a vast concourse of people often led to scenes of great disorder. But there was also much religious excitement at such Communion seasons, which in some degree resembled modern "revivals."

In March 1652 the Laird of Naughton produced to the Session a receipt for ten merks that were given to "Captain Lieutenant Thomson;" and in the following May a receipt for a similar sum given to Lieutenant Jarden—apparently a military assessment levied by Cromwell's soldiers, who had now possession of the country.

12th May 1653. "Mr Walter Greig professed that he carried so much respect to, and expected so much charity from the Provincial [Synod], that he did humbly intreat that the Provincial might be pleased not to urge the execution of that Act of Assembly for the present (in respect of the sadd

estate of the times), wherewith he cannot in conscience goe along." (*Synod Rec.*) This refers to an Act ordaining "expectants," or probationers, to declare their sentiments in reference to the questions of the day, before they should be appointed to a church. It was to Mr Greig's credit that he dissented from so extreme a measure.

29th March 1654. "Collected for the prisoners in Dundie 7 lib. 6 s. which was delyvered to the laird of Nachtane." (*K.-S. Rec.*)

22nd June 1654. The Communion was appointed to be held on the 16th July, "at the close of the bear seed." (*K.-S. Rec.*) There is a similar notice under the 22nd of May 1692; on which day the Sacrament was appointed to be as soon as possible after the next examination, "which the minister intends to begin after the bear seed." These must have been unusually late seasons, or some farming operations must have been much later then than at present.

4th January 1655. A collection was made "for ane gentillman, prisoner in Dundee, under the Inglish." About this time marriages were sometimes, if not always, solemnized in the Church. (*K.-S. Rec.*)

25th March 1657. "This day the minister informed the Sessione that the Kirk Byble was of the old translation, and desired ane of the new, and the Sessione was content." It gives us a vivid sense of the changes produced by time, during the lapse of only two centuries, to find a translation which contains so many words now antiquated, regarded then as a novelty. Yet this was forty-six years after the publication of our present version of the Scriptures.* The Geneva version was that previously used in Scotland.

* There would be a strong prejudice at first against the new translation, however much superior to the old, just as there is now a prejudice against another revision, though this is no less necessary in order to keep pace with the progress of Biblical interpretation. "Was there ever anything projected, that savoured any way of

23d June 1657. "Hendrie Rollie and Isobell Bruce wer married, who had with them a fidler. David Donaldson became suretie to the minister, under the pain of ten pundis, that he should play non hear." 15th August. Mention is made of a man who was upbraided by another as having "fallen in among the Whigs of Kilmany." (*K.-S. Rec.*)

14th July 1658. "The Session ordained [that] euerie person who is not to be brought befor the congregation for ane little falt, sall sit down upon their knes befor the Lord in the face of the Session, and acknowledge their falt." October, 1658. "Given to David Donaldson for ane stool to such as is not brought to the publick place of repentance, but befor the pulpit, to sit in there for lesser falts, 20 sh." (*K.-S. Rec.*)

About this time help was given out of the Session Box to various persons:—"To a distrest man from the King's court, 2 lib." "To a man who had been amongst the Turks &c." "To ane poor man spoiled at the sea, having 6 children born at 3 tymes, as his testimonial buir, 24 sh."

Charles II. was restored in 1660, and very soon afterwards Episcopacy was re-established in Scotland. Mr Greig is stated in some of the histories of the period to have been one of those ministers who "conformed." It would be more correct to say merely, that he was not "outed," as were those who had been admitted after 1649 (when patronage was abolished, and the election of ministers transferred to the Kirk-Session, with power to the people of appealing to the Presbytery), unless they sought a new presentation to their charges from the ancient patrons, and collation from the Bishop. Yet Mr Greig must have tacitly submitted to Episcopacy. Wodrow says he was one of those "confined"

newness or renewing, but the same endured many a storm of gain-saying or opposition?"—ask the authors of our present version in their Address to the Reader.

to their parishes in 1663. His name never appears on the business rolls of the diocesan Synod of St Andrews, though he had previously taken a prominent part in the Church courts. Of the Presbytery of Cupar, eleven ministers conformed, and eight were expelled from their charges. In the whole Church about three hundred were "outed." These were chiefly the younger ministers, whom the Government was more anxious to concuss into an active compliance with Episcopacy, as the older incumbents were few, and would sooner die out. "Less compliance (says Wodrow) was to be looked for from them who had been so active in the Covenant, and late work of Reformation."

The leading features of the system now introduced may be briefly sketched. Presbyteries still met, but only under the Bishop's warrant; and were presided over by a permanent Moderator appointed by him. They were called "meetings" of the clergy; the word "Presbytery" being offensive to royal ears. Elders were excluded from these "meetings." Synods were regularly held, under the presidency of the Archbishop, the archdeacon, or some one nominated by the Ordinary. Kirk-Sessions met, and did their work as before; and offenders appeared before the congregation, just as in Presbyterian times, clothed in sackcloth. The General Assembly, a body which the Stuarts never loved, did not meet, and in this lay the chief change. The voice of the whole Church could not be expressed, and free discussion was stifled. Ministers were ordained by the Bishop in his Cathedral, instead of by the Presbytery in the Parish churches to which they were appointed. As to the form of worship, no liturgy was enjoined—the fate of Laud's Liturgy no doubt acting as a warning to the ruling powers—and the prayers were extemporaneous.* The Lord's Supper was

* Some of the clergy, however, where their congregations inclined to Episcopacy, used the English Liturgy, or some other form

taken by the members of the congregation sitting round a table, as at present. Two things were insisted on, and we may think it strange that they should ever have been objected to—the use of the Lord's Prayer in the service, and of the Doxology at the close of it. This last was sung standing. In time of prayer, either standing or kneeling was allowed. No anniversary was enjoined to be observed, except that of the Restoration.

There are few materials for our history during this period. *29th May 1661.* “This day thair was thanks given for the restorations of the King's majestie to his throne and crown, according to the appointment of the Presbyterie, being intimate to the people upon last Sabbath.”

13th October 1661. “This day preaching was appointed to be weiklie on the Wednesday after the harvest at 12 houres.”*

13th July 1665. “Twise preaching and thanksgiving or the victorie of his Majesties navies.”

7th March 1668. “This day the minister desired all in the parochie who had children, to put them to the school, if they were capable of learning, and so to keip thaim at it summer and winter, quhill they could read and know the grounds of religion, and all quha were not abill to pay for ther learning should be paid duely to the Schoolmaster from the box. (*K.-S. Rec.*)

1670. “It was represented to the Lord Archbishop and Synod, that the Laird of Nachtane had, some years agoe, given bond to the minister of Balmerino for a chalder of victual zearlie, and now one of his sons has given up the bond, and keeps it, [that is, has given up paying, and keeps the chalder to himself?]. The Lord Archbishop and Synod

* From 27th Nov. 1661 to 13th Feb. 1664 there is a blank in the Session Minutes, Mr. Greig having, it is stated, lost them.

appoint William Person to speak to the Laird of Nachthane anent this matter, and to make his report to the next Synod."

At next meeting of Synod "the Lord Archbishop and Synod find that the Laird of Nachton is abundantly vindicated of that chalde of victual of the minister's stipend of Balmerino, whereof something was spoken in the last Synod." (*Syn. Rec.*) "The Lord Archbishop" (Sharp) had probably no great love for Mr Greig.

21st May 1671. "This day my Lord Balmerino sat in the Kirk as a member thereof, wherefor the minister gave his lordship thanks." (*K.-S. Rec.*) Lord Balmerino was, perhaps, not usually resident in the Parish at this time. The notice probably refers to the ancient practice, on the part of the officiating minister, of saluting, or bowing to the patron of the Church at the conclusion of the service; which was perhaps accompanied on this occasion with a few words of respect.

Previous to this period field-preachings had become common in many parts of the country. These were kept up by the ejected ministers, whose exhortations were highly prized by the multitudes who came, often from great distances, to hear them. But in Fife "conventicles" were not held for several years after the Restoration. Willam Row, writing of the year 1665, after mentioning a number of old ministers in Fife who had not been "outed," of whom Mr Walter Greig was the only one in Cupar Presbytery, says,— "as yet there were no field-meetings in Fife for preaching, neither were they needed." But under 1668 he states that "in that spring and summer time there were several meetings in houses in Fife, but they were neither frequent nor numerous, there being yet unconform ministers permitted to continue in their charges, to whom almost all the Presbyterians resorted in the Presbyteries of St Andrews, Cupar, and Kirkaldy."* It may therefore be presumed that during the latter

* William Row's Supplement to the Life of Robert Blair, pp. 483, 521 (Wodrow Society Ed.).

years of Mr Greig's ministry his preaching would be attended by great numbers from a distance, and accompanied with much religious excitement. No doubt the old Church of Balmerino presented at this time some remarkable scenes, and if minister and people were often compelled by want of room to adjourn to the open air, a sight more picturesque, or more interesting every way—considering the circumstances of the country—could scarcely be witnessed, than that of the aged Pastor holding forth the Word of Life to the vast multitude clustering round the churchyard knoll, and regarding him with veneration, as being, in this district, the last representative of the heroic days of the COVENANT.

But Mr Greig was now drawing near to his end. The Session Records contain the following interesting notices of his last days :—

7th April 1670. “The minister left his lectoring because of his weakness, q^lk. he did signifie to the Parochie, as might appear in his face.”

Sabbath, 24th September 1671. “Our minister, Mr Walter Greig, not able to goe to the Church by reason of his weakness and sicknes, q^lk. was the last Sabbath that he left preaching in the Kirk befor his death, and went noe mor to publique ordinances.” Then comes the closing scene :—

31st January 1672. “This day it pleased the Lord to remove Mr Walter Greig, minister of the gospell att Balmerino, from the miseries of this lyfe to his eternall rest; and also it pleased the Lord to remove his wife, Mary Hay, ane day and night befor himself, being January 30, 1672, to hir eternall rest.”

2nd February. “This day Mr Walter Greig, minister of the Gospel, foresaid, and his wife, Mary Hay, being both removed by death, were both buried, and laid together in on grave, and so lived together and died together.”

19th February. Thomas Stark, of the parish of South Leith, eldest surviving son of the Laird of Ballindean, and

Margaret Greig were proclaimed in Creich church (there being probably no service in Balmerino), and were married in due course. Jean, another daughter of Mr Greig, had been married to Mr Wilson, minister of Cameron, in 1657. Mr Greig had a family of at least seven children.

17th April. "Mr James Greig distributed to the poor 20 lib. Scots, left by his father."

Mr Greig's sole incumbency extended to about forty years, and he discharged the duties of the pastoral office in the Parish for nearly fifty years. During a period of about ninety-two years there would thus be only one instance of the ordination of a minister for the Parish. Mr Greig witnessed many changes, and though, after adopting the principles of the Covenant, he tacitly acquiesced in Episcopacy, it must be remembered that he was then of advanced age. Besides, his acquiescence in Episcopacy appears not to have diminished the respect in which he was held by his party; while the people adhered to their Parish Church to the end of his incumbency. There was soon a change in this respect.

CHAPTER IV.

MR ANDREW BRUCE.
MR JAMES GAIRNS. MR GEORGE HAY.
MR JOHN AUCHTERLONY.

"With such excess of love—we'll blame it not—
Does Scotland love her Church. Be it so still;
And be its emblem still the Burning Bush!
Bush of the Wilderness! See how the flames
Bicker and burn around it."

AIRD.

MR WALTER GREIG was succeeded by MR ANDREW BRUCE,

chaplain to Archbishop Sharp. He "preached his first time in Balmerino Kirk for tryall" on the 19th of January 1673, and was "placed as minister by these of the Presbytery, Mr Alexander Balfour at Ebdie" and six others, on the 1st of May following. (*K.-S. Rec.*) He must have previously received ordination from the Archbishop. Wodrow gives a very unfavourable account of his character.

As there are no minutes of the Kirk-Session (there having been no meetings of that body,) from the commencement of Mr Bruce's incumbency till the Revolution, and no minutes of the Presbytery from the Restoration to the Revolution preserved, we know little more of the Episcopal ministers, or "curates" (as the people called them exclusively) of this Parish, than their names.

The following baptisms registered in the Session Books prove that Mr Bruce, soon after his induction, introduced an alteration in the Church service, which some of the people stoutly resisted. The matter referred to appears to have been the Apostles' Creed, which the parent was required to repeat in the Baptismal service.

13th July 1673. "Andro Balfour and Christin Balfour of Graing had a child baptized, called Petir, but said no Creed." About the same time John Bruceon and David Paton had each a child baptized, "but said no Creed." Martin Kido had a child baptized, "and did say the Creed."

Ecclesiastical division soon followed Mr Bruce's settlement. About 1674 there is mention in Wodrow of a "private conventicle" being held by certain ministers in Balmerino. It would appear, too, that some of them had got admission into the Parish Church. In 1675 letters of intercommuning were issued against certain persons of other parishes who had "invited and countenanced outed ministers in their invasion and intrusion upon the Kirks and pulpits of Forgan, Balmerinloch, Moonzie, &c.," and who had heard them preach and pray therein, and had harboured Mr John Welsh; and

the persons accused of these offences were denounced as traitors, the lieges being at the same time forbidden to furnish them with food or lodging, or to have any dealings with them.*

Mr Bruce's incumbency was very brief. He was succeeded in 1676 by Mr JAMES GAIRNS, or GARDEN, who was of the family of Garden of Leys.†

In 1678 certain persons were charged before the Secret Council with having been present at field preachings at (amongst other places) Balmerino, and having there heard Mr Welsh, and other ministers. Having "comepared," they refused to state on oath whom they saw at those meetings, or what they knew about them. They were sentenced to be banished to the plantations. Fines for non-conformity were laid on Balmerino Parish about the years 1679-1685, to the extent of £700. ‡ Tradition points out a lonely spot on Newton Hill where the Covenanters were wont to meet, and it is probably to meetings which took place there that the above notice refers. The spot is on the north face of the hill, at the base of a lofty wall of perpendicular rock. It consists of a deep, grass-covered hollow of an oblong shape, and sloping downwards to the east. Having had some experience in "field" preaching under different circumstances, we should pronounce this spot to be admirably adapted for the purpose. On the north side it is surrounded by a mound, having a break for the entrance at the east end, and indicating its probable use as a sheep-pen. The hollow is so

* Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland II, pp. 244, 287. (Ed. of 1829.) This Mr John Welsh was a grandson of the famous Reformer of that name.

† Nisbet's Heraldry; which gives Mr Garden's arms thus :—*Argent*, a boar's head erased, *sable*, betwixt three cross crosslets fitché *gules*, all within a bordure counter-composed of the second and first. *Crest*, a rose slipped, proper; *Motto*, "Sustine abstine."

‡ Wodrow, III., 480; I., XLIX.

deep that a congregation might be seated on the grassy slope without being observed from the low ground, while the approach of any intruders would have been at once detected by the watchmen, who, according to tradition, were posted on the height above. There is to the south-east of this a beautiful and complete amphitheatre, which, but for its marshy bottom, would suit equally well, or better, for the purpose referred to.

“In solitudes like these
Thy persecuted children, Scotia, foiled
A tyrant's and a bigot's bloody laws;
There, leaning on his spear,
The lyart veteran heard the word of God
By Cameron thundered, or by Renwick poured
In gentle stream; then rose the song, the loud
Acclaim of praise; the wheeling plover ceased
Her plaint; the solitary place was glad.
And on the distant cairns, the watcher's ear
Caught doubtfully at times the breeze-born note.”

To this period probably belongs the case of William Murdoch, blacksmith in Gauldry, who suffered imprisonment for his Presbyterian principles. When the officers of the law came to his house to apprehend him, he requested permission, before accompanying them to the prison of Cupar, to retire for prayer into his smithy, and the request was granted. While there, he took the opportunity of concealing a file in the sleeve of his coat; and, with the help of this instrument, he managed to file through the iron bars of the prison window, and thus procured his escape, as well as that of his fellow-prisoners. Having fled to the Carse of Gowrie, from which district his father had first come to settle in Gauldry, he hid himself in a wood, where he met a minister who was in hiding for a similar cause, and who knew his

“Grahame's ‘Sabbath.’” It is worthy of note that an author who could express these sentiments in reference to the persecutions of the Covenanters was himself a clergyman of the Church of England.

name as that of one who, he had heard, was under the ban of the government. Murdoch went to procure refreshment from a house near by, which he found to be occupied by a female relation of his own, whose husband, however, was active on the side of the persecutors ; and, though the assistance he wanted was cheerfully given, he was required to return immediately to his hiding-place. What afterwards befell him is unknown. But we shall meet with his name again after the Revolution.

It is a somewhat remarkable circumstance that this person's descendants have continued to follow the trade of blacksmith at the same place, in the village of Gauldry, ever since, or for about the space of two hundred years, and in lineal succession from father to son without interruption till the present time, when the craft is still carried on by the seventh and eighth generations of the family, with every prospect of its continuance. *

On the 16th of September 1678, Mr Garden was translated to the church of Carnbee, and was succeeded in Balmerino, in the same year, by Mr GEORGE HAY, who was in all probability a member of the Naughton family of that name. It is not known how long his incumbency lasted.

On the 3d of May 1679, Archbishop Sharp, who was commonly believed to have betrayed the Presbyterian cause in order to procure his own aggrandisement, was murdered on Magus Muir, and a parishioner of Balmerino has had his name handed down to posterity in connection with that atrocious and cowardly deed. This was Andrew Guilan, weaver at Byres of Balmerino. Wodrow says that he "was only called by the actors to look to their horses, or some such thing, but was not active, though present at the action," and that he "did not touch the bishop, but endeavoured to

* We have not met with any notice of this case in Wodrow, unless a person named Murdoch, vol. III. 15, be the same individual.

secure his daughter from hurt and danger, when she would interpose between the actors and him." In 1683 Guilan was taken and executed. We shall give the account in Wodrow's own words :—

"Andrew Guilan was the only person I can hear of who suffered precisely upon [for] the archbishop's death. Hackston of Rathillet, as we have heard, was taken actually resisting at Ayrsmoss, but neither he nor this man were active in the bishop's murder. Andrew Guilan was a weaver, who lived [at that time] near Magus Muir, and all his share in the action was, that being called out of his house, he held their horses, and was witness to what was done. After this, he was obliged to abscond, and served the best way he might in country houses, at some distance from the place where he had lived formerly. I have some letters under his hand, writ by him after he was taken, August this year [1683], whereby he appears to be a country man of some knowledge and seriousness. In one of them he gives account to his friend that he was taken upon the 11th of June, when at his work with a countryman. The curate of the parish came by, and asked him where he was upon the Lord's day, and if he kept the church. Andrew told him he did not own him, and would give him no account of himself; whereupon the curate called for some people thereabout, and seized him, and carried him to Cockpen, where he was pressed to drink the King's health, which he refusing, saying he drank no healths, he was carried to Dalkeith, and there put in prison, and from thence taken into Edinburgh, where, after examination, he was put into the iron-house. All this time nothing was known as to his being present at the bishop's death. While he was at Edinburgh, some rumour of his being there broke out, but they had not the least probation, till, as I am informed, the advocate trepanned him into a confession. At one of his examinations he was most pathe-

tically aggravating the crime as a horrid murder, and, directing himself to Andrew, he represented, among other things, that when the bishop was upon his knees praying, they should have killed him. This, it seems, touched the simple countryman so, that he got up his hands, and cried out, 'O! dreadful! he would not pray one word for all that could be said to him.' Upon this, and what further they elicit from him, I find him staged before the justiciary.

"July 12th.—Andrew Guilan, weaver in Balmerinoch, indicted, that with others, May 3d, 1679, 'he stopped the bishop's coach, and shot at him, or that he was present when it was done, and was in arms, and fled with the rest, and that night gave thanks to God for that execrable murder.' For probation the advocate adduceth his own confession.

"Edinburgh, July 10th, 'Andrew Guilan confesseth judicially, that morning when the company came to the Muir, Rathillet came and took him out; declares he was present in the company, concurring with the rest when the archbishop was killed; that he had a sword, that he was with them in the evening when one prayed, he thinks it was James Russel, and blessed God for their success; declares he cannot write.' By his letters under his hand I am sure he could write, and in them I find he declines to own the authority of the chancellor, and his judges, and I imagine this confession of his is gathered up out of what they got him to say before them, which I do not think he would sign. However, thus it stands in the records. The assize bring him in guilty of the bishop's death by his own confession, and he is sentenced to be taken to the cross of Edinburgh upon Friday July 20th, and to have both his hands cut off at the foot of the gallows, and then hanged, his head to be cut off, and fixed at Cupar, and his body to be carried to Magus-muir, and hung up in chains. His last speech is published more than once, and therein 'he denies he dies as

a murderer, though it be laid to his charge that he joined with those who executed justice upon a Judas, who sold the Kirk of Scotland for fifty thousand merks a-year, and vindicates their deed.' It was noticed that he endured the torture he was put to with a great deal of courage. In cutting off his hands, the hangman, being drunk, or affecting to appear so, mangled him fearfully, and gave nine strokes before he got them off. He endured all with invincible patience, and, it is said, when his right hand was cut off, he held up the stump in the view of the spectators, crying as one perfectly easy, 'My blessed Lord sealed my salvation with His blood, and I am honoured this day to seal His truths with my blood.' After his body had hung in chains for some time, some people came and took it down, for which the country about was brought to no small trouble. I find, May 27th, 1684, 'The council grant a commission to the Earl of Balcarras to pass a sentence of banishment on the persons who took down Andrew Guilan's body from Magus-muir, as being owners of the horrid murder of the Archbishop of St. Andrews.' * *

A stone was afterwards erected to Guilan's memory on Magus-muir, where it may still be seen in what is now called the Bishop's Wood. This stone, however, does not mark the precise scene of Sharp's murder, which is indicated by another, about a stone's throw to the west of Guilan's monument, erected to the memory of five of the Covenanters who were taken at Bothwell Bridge, and executed on the site of the murder.

The inscription on Andrew Guilan's stone is as follows:—

"A faithful martyr here doth lye,
A witness against perjury,
Who cruelly was put to death
To gratify proud prelate's wrath.

* Wodrow's "History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution," III., 44, 45, 47, 49, 462, 463.

They cut his hands ere he was dead,
And after that struck off his head.
To Magus Muir then did him bring,
His body on a pole did hing.
His blood under the altar cries
For vengeance on Christ's enemies." *

Sharp's murder will find no defenders at the present day, private assassination being now regarded with just horror by all parties. But if we would correctly estimate the character of this deed, we must bear in mind that it was then considered meritorious thus to rid the world of the enemies of religion. Men who could thank God when such an act was perpetrated, certainly did not consider themselves murderers. The truth is, the Presbyterians were driven to the extremity of fanaticism by the cruel and lawless persecution of a tyrannical government.

There is a tradition that the Boyters of this Parish first came to it during these persecutions (having been driven from Argyleshire by this cause), and, having been found singing psalms in Corbieden by the Laird of Birkhill, were by him treated with kindness. This tradition is incorrect as to the *persons* at least, individuals of the name of Boyter having been in the Parish long before the period referred to. There was a monk of Balmerino of that name. Others held lands from the Abbey.

Mr JOHN AUCHTERLONY succeeded Mr Hay as minister of Balmerino, but the time of his settlement is not recorded.

On the 24th of August 1682 "a contract of excambion was entered into between the Lord and the Master of Balmerino on the one part, and Mr Peter Hay of Naughton and the other heritors, ministers, and elders of the Kirk-Session of

* Lyon's History of St. Andrews, II., 94, 95. Swan and Leighton's "Fife Illustrated," III., 44. Presbyterian writers have not always been inclined to mention that at the Reformation the penalty of *death* was, in the last instance, prescribed against the celebration of the Mass. Toleration was then considered an irreligious principle.

Balmerino on the other part, whereby the heritors disposed the Manse and Glebe of Balmerino [which up to that time had been somewhere near the Abbey] to the Lord and the Master of Balmerino; and, in excambion thereof, they disposed to the minister their House of Bottomcraig, with yards, orchards, &c., and six acres of land adjacent thereto."* (For an account of this house see Part IV., Chapter III.)

We now come to the Revolution of 1688. This event put an end to the persecution of the Presbyterians, which had continued with more or less severity since the Restoration—a period of twenty-eight years, characterized in Scotland as the “killing times.” Presbytery, to which the people in this, as in, at least, all the midland and southern districts of the country, were still firmly attached, was now again established. The Episcopal clergy were at this crisis treated with great harshness. “In some cases, they saved themselves from insult by timely flight. In other cases, they were laid hold of by the rabble, carried about in mock procession, had their gowns torn over their heads, their Prayer-books burnt before their eyes, and then were told to be off, and never to show themselves in the parish again. When done with the minister, the mob frequently entered the Manse, tumbled the furniture out at the windows, marched the inmates to the door, took possession of the keys; and on the next Sunday a preacher, who had till lately been skulking among the hills, was found in the pulpit thundering against persecuting prelatists. Upwards of two hundred clergymen were thus rabbled out of their manses, their parishes, and their livings.”† Great as were the hardships thus inflicted, they were but slight evils compared with the sufferings to which Presbyterians, both ministers and people, had been previously subjected; and

* Balmerino Writs.

† Cunningham’s Church History of Scotland, vol. II. p. 261.

now that the latter had the power in their own hands, it must be allowed that, on the whole, they exercised it with comparative moderation. There were no lives taken in the "Rabbling of the Curates," as this event in Scottish history is called.

Mr Auchterlony was "outed" in 1689; but whether he was allowed to depart in peace, or otherwise, we know not. It would appear, however, that he afterwards conformed to Presbytery, since he became minister of Fordoun, in the Mearns.*

CHAPTER V.

MR ANDREW BOWIE. MR JAMES HAY.

"Then dawned the period destined to confine
The surge of wild prerogative, to raise
A mound restraining its imperious rage,
And bid the raving deep no further flow."

THOMSON.

MR ANDREW BOWIE was the first minister of Balmerino after the Revolution. He was admitted on the 24th of September, 1690, by the Presbytery of St Andrews and Cupar, the two Presbyteries having been again united from 1690 to 1693. He was called by the people, and they "longed for his admission."

The Scottish Convention, which met in March 1689, had declared for the restoration of Presbytery, and this had been followed by the meeting of the Estates in June, which

* List of Ministers of the Synod of Fife, previously quoted.

abolished Episcopacy. But the Presbyterian government of the Church was not formally established by the Scottish Parliament till April 1690, though Kirk-Sessions, Presbyteries, and Synods had previously been meeting, by the King's authority.

Field-preaching was kept up at Newton till the end of October, 1690, *at least*. The Kirk-Session Records, which here commence again after a blank of sixteen years, contain the names of twelve persons "who had children baptized at Newton, and are indwelling in Balmerino parish, since the 30th day of November 1688 years," and onwards to 1690. One of these was Balfour of Grange: another was — Murdoch in Gallerie, no doubt the hero of the file.* On the margin opposite these names there is written—"Children baptized at Newton, whose names are to be found in ther Session book, written by Master Laurence Skier." From this it appears probable that there was a Kirk-Session, with its records and clerk, in connection with the non-conforming congregation. As the Christian names of those children are, with one exception, not given in the Balmerino Records, they must have been inserted rather as a memorial of the times of persecution than for the proper purposes of registration. There is no mention of the name of the minister, or ministers, who baptized them at Newton. Perhaps it was Mr Bowie, before his induction into Balmerino; at least the Session books of Balmerino contain, under date, 21st March 1690, the names of a couple who, "being 3 several Sabbaths proclaimed at Newton by Mr John Wylie, Schoolmaster of Balmerino [who had held office ever since Mr Greig's time], were married by Mr Bowie in the church of Balmerino." This was five months before Mr Bowie's formal admission by the Presbytery to

* William Murdoch married Christian Kirkaldy in May 1668. His father, David Murdoch, was married in Balmerino parish in 1634, and was in 1668 an elder. Several of his descendants also held that office.

Balmerino Church. The Records contain the names of several other persons who were proclaimed at Newton in April, and onwards to October 1690 ; and also those of several children "baptized at the Kirk of Balmerino before Mr Bowie, expected minister, was admitted." It would thus appear that preaching was kept up at Newton not only for six months after the re-establishment of Presbytery by Parliament—there being service at Balmerino at the same time—but for a few Sundays, at least, after Mr Bowie's induction into Balmerino. The promoters were, in all probability, those who were dissatisfied with the terms in which Presbytery was then established. There is no record of any doings at Newton after October 1690 ; and, doubtless, the whole of the people soon returned to their Parish Church, thankful for the peace and protection they at length enjoyed, even though the Revolution Settlement did come short of the high claims of the Covenanters, to which, indeed, few would *now* entirely assent.

On the second Sabbath after Mr Bowie's admission, a "fast and thanksgiving was observed in Balmerino, on account of the King's success against the enemies of the Protestant religion, and for his safe return from Ireland to England." On the next Sabbath another fast was kept, for asking God's blessing on the General Assembly, which was to meet on the 16th of October. This was the first Assembly which had met for forty years. On that deeply interesting occasion it is curious to observe that Gabriel Cunningham, the Moderator of last Assembly, occupied the chair till a successor was chosen.

In the same year nine new elders were ordained in Balmerino, in addition to six already existing.

In 1691 "the Session ordained these of the elders who collect at the Kirk-door any time hereafter to goe and visit the aill-houses, that none be drinking in time of divine worship upon the Lord's day, or staying from the church needlessly." (*K.-S. Rec.*)

In the same year a "proclamation was read from the pulpit

for a fast to be kept monthly for four months, on the last Wednesday of ilk month, to implore the blessing of the Lord upon the King and Counsel, and their undertakings in defence of the true reformed religion, and of these lands." (*K.-S. Rec.*)

26th July 1691. "This day, given for the commissioners that went to Flanders to the King, out of the Kirk-box, 8 lib. 10s.; and by the minister, Mr Bowie, to them out of his own purse, 3 lib. 10s." (*K.-S. Rec.*) These sums were together equal to £1 sterling.

3d April 1692. "The minister enquired of the elders what diligence they had used in visiting the broster-houses on the Lord's day in time of sermon, and, according to the Act of our Kirk Session, desired these elders who collected every Lord's day at the Kirk-door to be carefull in searching every broster-house, that there be no drinkers in time of worship; as also the minister did signify to the Session that according to former Acts of Parliament, the Synod doth discharge, and ordineth every Kirk-Session to discharge all kynde of promiscuous dancing [i. e. by the two sexes together] at weddings, and forbid pipers to play to such dancing." (*K.-S. Rec.*)

On the 1st of August 1692, Mr Bowie was translated to Ceres as assistant and successor to Mr Row,* whose daughter Agnes he had married six months before; and in 1697 he was removed to the parish of North Leith. The vacancy in Balmerino was not filled up till 1696.

About this time there was a great scarcity of preachers,

*This was William Row, son of John Row of Carnock, the historian of the Church. William Row married a daughter of Robert Blair, minister of St Andrews, to whose Autobiography he wrote a continuation. He himself had been minister of Ceres for seventeen years before the Restoration, was ejected in 1665, and, after the Revolution, was restored, in his old age, to his parish. (*Row's History*, Wodrow Society Ed.—Preface, p. lvi.)

and in 1693 there were eight parishes in the Presbytery of Cupar vacant at the same time. Young men on trial for licence were ordered to supply vacant churches even before their trials were completed. Preachers who supplied vacant charges received an allowance out of the stipend. The parish of Balmerino made several attempts to secure a minister, and only succeeded after three successive failures.

In 1693 Mr David Seaton received a call. Objections to his settlement were brought forward by the Laird of Ballindean and several elders, which objections were declared by the Presbytery to be irrelevant. But on account of a *fama* against Mr Seaton, his settlement was not proceeded with. He received part of the vacant stipend for his services in preaching.

In 1695 the Parish petitioned the Presbytery "to moderate in a call" to Mr John Henderson, who had preached his first sermon, after his being licenced, in Balmerino. Similar petitions in his favour were sent in by the parishes of Newburgh and Flisk. He was called to Balmerino in March, and the call was sustained; but the Moderator of the Presbytery reported that Mr Henderson "left the call of Balmerino at his lodging, upon a letter sent from his father discharging him from midling with the said call directly or indirectly, and would by no means take the call again, notwithstanding of all the arguments and reasons which he made use of to prevail upon the said Mr Henderson." Whereupon the Presbytery required him to submit to their commands, according to his engagement when he received license. Eventually Mr Henderson came to the Presbytery, from which, though in Cupar, he had absented himself, and apologized for having left them so abruptly; and the Presbytery "resolved to urge him no farther to settle in their bounds." (*Presb. Rec.*) In connection with this matter the Session Records have the following:—"The expenses in prosecuting ane call that was given to Mr Henderson at Dunfermling and Cowper, £19 14s."

At a later period of the same year the Parish petitioned for Mr David Pitcairn ; but the people of Criech having also petitioned for him, he was settled there, and Balmerino still remained vacant.

During this long vacancy there are many entries in the Session Records referring to supply for the pulpit, such as :—
“To ane horse haire [hire] for Mr Hetten quhen hee preached, 12s.—For ane horse to Mr Hetton several tymes, £1 14s.—To the bedle for goeing to Dundie for a minister, 1s.—To the bedle to goe to Edinburgh for a minister, £1 10s.”

At length the Parish obtained a minister in Mr JAMES HAY, whose father, Thomas Hay, was a brother of the Laird of Naughton, and had been “a gentleman in the King’s Scots Guards, when the same was upon the English establishment.”* Mr Hay was licensed to preach on the last day of the year 1695, and was at the same time appointed to supply Balmerino Church. Three weeks afterwards, the people petitioned the Presbytery to moderate in a call to him, and on the 7th of May, 1696, he was ordained minister of Balmerino. Besides the usual form of induction, and the welcome which it is still customary for the people to give to their new minister by “taking him by the hand,” at the door of the church, as they pass out at the conclusion of the Ordination service, Mr Hay “had also institution given him by the Moderator in the delivery of the Bible, keys, and bell-tow, as ane evidence of his security in the stipend.” (*Presb. Rec.*)

It may be here noticed that in 1690 patronage had been abolished, and the election of a minister to a vacant charge vested in the heritors and elders. If the congregation were dissatisfied with the person thus chosen, they were to state their reasons to the Presbytery, whose decision was final.

About this time the Communion was not observed here at

* Commissary Records. (General Register House.)

any fixed period of the year, and sometimes a year and a half, or two years, elapsed between one Communion and the next. Collections were made for a great variety of objects, such as—"For distressed Protestants in Lisbon and Ireland"—"For the distressed Presbyterian parochie of New York in America"—"For a poor man taken by the Turks"—"For the brige at Lenrike"—"For the living slaves in Algiers." Sums were granted by the Session—"To a scholar at St Andrew's college"—"To the precentor at the tent" [at the Communion services]—"To the Presbytery Bursar"—"To a blind student recommended by the Synod"—"To the Presbytery bursar that hath the Irish [Gaelic] Language"—"To Daniel Guines for setting up a printing house at Dundie, £3"—"To Alexander Finlay for ale to David Ritchie's burial, 31s."—"To Alexander Gregory for pipes and tobacco to the said burial, 15s. 6d." (Scots money.)

In 1694 a valuation of the Parish was made, from which we learn the names of the farmers, and the amount of their rents, at that period. (See Appendix, No. XVI.)

In 1697 Mr Hay was chosen Presbytery Clerk for six months, it being then again the practice to have this duty performed by the members in rotation.

At this time there was a great scarcity of ministers in the districts north of the Tay, owing to the expulsion of the Episcopal clergy from their livings by the General Assembly, which repeatedly sent ministers from the south to furnish a temporary supply of ordinances till the vacant churches should be filled up. A certain proportion of those sent being liable to be translated thither, if called by any of the destitute congregations, there appeared on the part of those nominated to go a considerable aversion to the duty. Mr Hay was one of three ministers of the Synod of Fife appointed in 1697 to proceed to Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness for three months; but on the 22d of February 1698 he produced reasons to the Presbytery for his not having gone, which

were sustained. His reasons are not recorded, but three days thereafter he married Christian Stark, daughter of the Laird of Ballindean. In the end of that year he was appointed to proceed on a similar mission to the Presbyteries of Perth, Auchterarder, and Dunkeld; and this duty he performed.

In 1707 there was another Presbyterial visitation of Balmerino. Mr Hay preached from his "ordinary." The form of procedure otherwise was similar to that in 1647, which has been already described. All the parties concerned commended each other. These visitations having degenerated into a mere form, their *ordinary* use was eventually discontinued.

In the seventeenth century George Hay of Naughton and his wife, Mary Ruthven, had presented two silver Communion cups to Balmerino Church; and their grandson, John Hay of Naughton, who died in 1709, left a legacy of £200 Scots for the purchase of an additional pair. After some delay, of which his widow complained to the Presbytery, two new cups were purchased by Robert Hay, his brother and successor in the property; and also another new cup, to replace one of the old pair, which had been broken. The three, with a box to hold them all, cost £200 4s.; but deducting the value of the broken cup, £42 18s., the sum actually paid out was £157 6s. Robert Hay, who was an elder of the Church, was desired to expend the balance, £42 14s., for the benefit of the poor in his own barony. The cups were ordered to be kept in custody by the Laird of Ballindean, also an elder, and to be let out for hire to the neighbouring churches. They were frequently so let at Communion seasons—one pair to Logie for 12s., and both pairs to Kilmany for 24s. or 30s., till as late as 1786 at least. Before the new pair was got, the Communion cups of Flisk were several times borrowed for Balmerino Church, and £1 paid for the use of them each time.

The cups presented by the Hays are those still in use.

The oldest one has engraven on it the initials of the donors' names, G. H. and M. R., round a shield, on which the arms of the Hays are impaled with those of the Ruthvens; and inside its base is the word "Berachaiah." The corresponding one has the same initials, but the arms of the Hays only. The newer pair have the arms of the Hays, and the initials I. H.; and the Goldsmiths' marks on them are those of the year 1715-16. The marks on the oldest cup show that it was made before 1682. The first pair was probably given either when Naughton was annexed to Balmerino parish (1650), or at George Hay's death.

About this time the discipline of the Church was exercised with a severity more calculated to harden than to improve the offender. In one case of an aggravated kind, the man was made to stand at the Church door, clothed in sackcloth, twelve, and the woman eight different Sabbaths—one of the parties generally in the forenoon, and the other in the afternoon.*

An estimate of the degree to which education then prevailed amongst the people may be formed from the fact, that between 1716 and 1748, of men who were called on to sign their names in presence of the Session, one in every three could not do so; while of women, eleven out of every twelve were unable to write.†

Of the rebellion of 1715 there is no notice in the Session Records farther than that 12s. were given from the "Box" to a poor soldier. But from other sources we learn that the

* The Assembly of 1570 ordered those guilty of aggravated offences not only to stand at the Church door in sackcloth, but bare-headed and barefooted.

† According to the Registrar-General's Return for 1862, of those who were married in Scotland, 1 male, and 2 females out of every 10 could not sign their names; and these were mostly Irish. Thus the art of writing is about four times more common now all over the country, than it was here from 1716 to 1748.

rebels placed garrisons in Naughton, St Fort, and Balvaird, who levied cess on all persons disaffected to them, and drove away all the sheep, oxen, and horses they could lay their hands on. At Ballinbreich the wheat seed could not be sown on account of their spoliation. The ministers were forced to fly, and the Presbytery Records state, that from October 1715 to February 1716 there was no meeting of that body, on account of "the unnatural rebellion raised by the Jacobite party under the Earl of Mar, who had taken possession of the towns of the shire, and had emitted a paper called by them a proclamation, threatening ministers who should acknowledge King George in their publick prayers with being carried to the Pretender's camp at Perth." Rob Roy, with 150 men, took possession of Falkland Palace, and plundered the whole country around. But on learning that the royal army was approaching Perth, he and all the rebel garrisons in Fife suddenly marched off, and crossed the Tay to Dundee.* In that town the Pretender had been proclaimed by the Magistrates, but the great body of the people were loyal. On the 6th of January 1716, the Pretender made a public entry into Dundee on horseback. Departing on the following day, he proceeded through the Carse of Gowrie to Perth, and had himself crowned at Scone.

Mr Hay having been for a long time indisposed,† with little or no hopes of his recovery, steps were taken in 1717 by the Presbytery, at the request of the Parish, to obtain an assistant-minister, to whom the heritors and people bound themselves to pay 250 merks (£166 13s. 4d. Scots), and Mr Hay an equal sum out of his stipend. The list of the subscribers, with the amount of their subscriptions, is inserted in the Session Records, and is interesting as containing, we may presume, the names of most of the householders a hundred and

* The "Wodrow Correspondence," printed for the Wodrow Society, Vol ii., pp. 86-184. Thomson's History of Dundee, p. 91, &c.

† His illness is first mentioned in 1712.

fifty years ago. (See Appendix, No. XVII.) Several preachers having been heard, Mr William Laurie was chosen, in November 1718, by the heritors, elders, and heads of families; but he ultimately declined the appointment. In February 1719, a petition was presented to the Presbytery in favour of Mr Thomas Kerr, which being granted, the people requested in August 1720 that he should be ordained "assistant and successor" to Mr Hay. After various endeavours had been made by the Presbytery to induce both the parishioners and Mr Hay to increase the proposed stipend to Mr Kerr, and to provide for him a house, with land and grass for a horse and cow, his salary was fixed at 250 merks from the people, besides £20 Scots and 3 chalders of grain, to be paid by Mr Hay out of the stipend. The parishioners also repaired a house at Balmerino for Mr Kerr, at a cost of £83 Scots. Afterwards he removed to Mid-Scurr, where he got a lease of a house and land from Naughton, for which he paid the yearly rent and feu-duty; and the house was repaired and enlarged at the joint expense of Naughton and the parishioners.* Mr Hay still occupied the Manse.

* This house is said to have been in existence about the beginning of the present century.

CHAPTER VI.

MR THOMAS KERR. MR THOMAS STARK.
MR JOHN STARK. MR ANDREW THOMSON.
MR JOHN THOMSON.

"Little avails it now to know
Of ages passed so long ago,
Nor how they rolled;
Our theme shall be of yesterday,
Which to oblivion sweeps away,
Like days of old."

LONGFELLOW.

MR KERR was ordained "assistant and successor" to Mr Hay on the 1st of May 1722. In August following, he complained to the Presbytery that the voluntary stipend was not well paid, and was requested to give in a list of the defaulters.

In 1720 a paper was read from the pulpit concerning precautions to be used against the Plague.

In 1721 the schoolmaster complained to the Session that schools were kept in Gallery and Cultra, and some of the elders were sent to warn the teachers "to desist from that practice."

At this time, and long before and after it, the Communion was always accompanied by tent-preaching in the churchyard. The "tent" was a moveable pulpit, somewhat resembling a sentry-box, with a door at the back, and a book-board in front, above which alone the preacher's person was visible. A minister preached from this erection to the crowd assembled from neighbouring parishes, while the Communion services were going on within the Church.

About this period there was annually a day, called in the Parish "road-day," on which the inhabitants, according to ancient custom, were obliged to turn out for the repair of the highways. This service was afterwards commuted into a money-tax.

In 1723 a monthly meeting of Session for "prayer, and for enquiring into the state of religion in the parish" was commenced, in obedience to an order of the Synod, and was kept up for a long period. In 1724, 500 new "Communion tokens" were obtained, which cost 50s. Scots.

About this time the country was oppressed by vast numbers of "vagabonds, and sturdy beggars," a fact which evinced the deep poverty of the working-classes. In January 1724, there was a meeting of the heritors, elders, and householders of Balmerino to make better provision for the poor; and it was agreed that poor children under 14 years of age, and approved by the Session, should have badges, and be allowed to beg charity within the Parish (a custom as old as the reign of James V.), and that all who begged without such badges should be punished. The rate for each pauper supported out of the Session-box was 4s. Scots—or 4d. sterling per week. There were at this time "Immorality Courts" instituted by the Church Courts, at the desire of the Justices, under an Act of Parliament, for fining those guilty of immorality and profaneness. These courts had their own officers to uplift the fines. The "Court" in this Parish consisted of the Laird of Naughton (otherwise called the Session Bailie), and the fines were applied to the use of the poor. Naughton, who was very zealous as a Justice in punishing "vagabonds and sturdy beggars," and also in putting down "numerous [that is, largely frequented] penny-weddings" in this and the neighbouring parishes, applied to the Presbytery "to get what money was collected in their bounds for ransoming Robert Carmichael from slavery among the Infidels, to be applied for helping to build a correction-house; the said

Robert Carmichael being otherwise provided." In summer of the same year, "the vagabonds and sturdy beggars began to travel abroad again, and were very insolent and uneasy;" and Naughton and some of the ministers were sent by the Presbytery to the Justices of the Peace, to induce them to appoint more constables.

In 1724, in obedience to an injunction of the General Assembly, seven deacons are ordained for the Parish, "as the office is Scriptural and useful." In the same year Naughtane is thanked by the Presbytery for prosecuting certain "schismatical and disorderly persons by law, so as to rid the bounds of them."

Mr Kerr died in November 1741. He had married, in 1726, Margaret, daughter of George Oliphant of Prinlaws; and he left three children. Mr Hay was still alive. Mr Kerr's brother, Mr John Kerr, was minister of Mains.

Mr THOMAS STARK, eldest son of Mr John Stark, minister of Logie and Laird of Ballindean, was the next minister of Balmerino. He had been licensed to preach on the 14th of July 1733. In 1739 he was presented to Collessie church by Lord Lindores. Patronage had been restored by the British Parliament in 1712; but it was so unpopular, that for thirty years it was frequently not exercised by the patrons, nor recognized by the Church courts. In this case the parishioners of Collessie, ignoring the presentation in favour of Mr Stark, petitioned the Presbytery to moderate in a call, and the Presbytery, by a large majority, agreed to do so, just as if no presentation had taken place. When the day fixed for the call arrived, there was one call for Mr Stark, and another, signed by the greater number of the people, for a Mr Kay; whereupon Mr Stark withdrew his acceptance of the presentation in his favour, that there might be no obstacle to the peace of the parish; and his supporters, one of whom was Lord Leven, then joined with the rest in favour of Mr Kay, who was accordingly settled at Collessie. (*P. Rec.*)

In January 1742, at a meeting of heritors, elders, and heads of families of Balmerino Parish, it was agreed to petition Lord Balmerino, the patron, in favour of Mr Stark, as assistant and successor to Mr Hay. The petition was granted, but no formal presentation appears to have been given. A similar request having been made to the Presbytery, that they would moderate in a call to him, they did so, and he was ordained on the 27th of May. He received from Mr Hay three of the eight chalders, and sixty of the hundred merks which then constituted the stipend, with, probably, a contribution* from the people.

In 1744 Acts of the General Assembly against smuggling were read from the pulpit. The Abbey ruins, it is said, were often used about this time, and long afterwards, for concealing casks of foreign spirits.

8th December 1745. "The Seasonable Warning and Exhortation by the Commission of Assembly concerning the present rebellion was read from the pulpit." 8th June 1746. "A Proclamation by H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland was read, together with the Act of Assembly appointing a thanksgiving for the victory obtained over the rebels at Culloden, to be observed Thursday the 26th inst., as also an Act of the Privy Council giving His Majesty's royal sanction for observing that day." 26th June. Observed accordingly. (*K.-S. Rec.*) It is well known that the Church of Scotland was eminently loyal at this time.

The rebels entered Kilmany Manse "several times," and "carried off some of the minister's effects he had put in places he thought they would not suspect, and some papers of value in his custody, particularly a bill of £17 sterling, belonging to the Kirk-Session."* There are in the district traditions of fugitive rebels crossing the Tay at Balmerino, after some of their engagements in the south; and of a

* New Stat. Ac. of Kilmany.

quantity of gunpowder having been found somewhere about Balmerino either at this time, or in 1715, after the rebels had departed. The people sowed the gunpowder in the fields, to prevent farther mischief.

In 1748 Mr Stark succeeded to the estate of Ballindean and Newbigging, by the death of his father. There were many other changes in the Parish about this time. Thus between 1737 and 1748 the estate of Naughton passed, by the bankruptcy of Robert Hay, to a new family (the Morisons); the estate of Birkhill, from a similar cause, came into the possession of new proprietors (the Scrimgeours); the family of Balmerino became extinct through the execution of Arthur, the sixth Lord, when the estate passed into other hands; and there was also a new minister, and a new schoolmaster.

Mr James Hay died in March, 1752. His incumbency extended to fifty-six years, during more than thirty-five of which he was laid aside from duty. The nature of his malady is not stated. He had a family of twelve children.

The Session Records now, and henceforth, supply but few facts suitable for insertion here.

In 1755 the minister's stipend was augmented by about 100 merks, equal to 10 or 12 bolls of victual, which, apparently, included the value of the teind yarn formerly paid, and then converted into money.

On the 1st of January 1775, the Kirk-Session accounts began to be kept in sterling money, instead of Scotch, as formerly. The following Church collections, made about the same time, may be noted:—In 1756, one for the College of New Jersey; in 1767, one for Wheelock's Academy, Dundee; in 1773, one for Montrose Bridge; in 1776, one in aid of the "Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge in the Highlands and Islands." About the year 1780 appearances of persons under discipline before the congregation were discontinued.

Mr Thomas Stark died in March 1772, and was succeeded by his son Mr JOHN STARK, who was licensed to preach on the 16th July of that year. On the 4th of August "a very considerable number of heritors, all the elders, and 55 heads of families" petitioned the Presbytery to moderate in a call to him, which (the Crown having issued a presentation in his favour) took place on the 3d of September.* He was then ill of a fever in Edinburgh, and asked the Presbytery to supply the Church "for a few months." His ordination did not take place till the 22d of April, 1773.

In December 1776, Mr Stark applied to the Presbytery for leave of absence on some necessary business, which would oblige him to set out soon for London, and might detain him more than six weeks from his Parish; which leave, as he had provided supply for his pulpit, was granted.

In September 1778, Mr Stark addressed a letter from Ireland to the Moderator of the Presbytery, offering an excuse for his absence. The excuse is not recorded, nor does it clearly appear how long he had been absent. The consideration of the letter was delayed till next meeting, when the Presbytery unanimously disapproved of his being so long absent from his charge, and authorized the Moderator to write to him, requiring his immediate return. On the 2d of February 1779 he appeared in the Presbytery, made an apology for absenting himself without having asked leave, and declared that he had been detained longer than he had wished or expected, but had returned immediately on receipt of the Moderator's letter.

On the 23d of October 1781, Mr Stark addressed a letter to the Moderator of Presbytery, resigning his office as minister of Balmerino, which resignation was accepted. (For a further notice of Mr Stark see Part IV., Chap. IV.)

* The patronage of the Church went to the Crown on the forfeiture of the Balmerino estates.

Mr Stark's successor was Mr ANDREW THOMSON, who was presented by the Crown. The Presbytery having been petitioned by "sundry heritors and others of the Parish" to moderate in a call to him, did so on the 16th of May, 1782. The people at that time seem not to have been, at least in this district, in the habit of signing calls, patronage having come to be administered in such a manner as to exclude entirely the popular voice. The call to Mr Thomson was subscribed only by James Morison of Naughton, and Robert Stark, proxy for Lord Moray and for "John Stark, Esq." (the previous minister). But "as none of the parishioners objected, they were held as concurring." Mr Wedderburn had sent a letter of concurrence, and George Marshall, elder, though he did not subscribe the call, "declared that for his part, he designed to own Mr Thomson as his minister." The ordination took place on the 5th of September, 1782.

Mr Andrew Thomson was the author of the first Statistical Account of the Parish of Balmerino, which was published in 1793, in Sir John Sinclair's great work. Though somewhat brief—occupying only nine pages—it is now interesting, as describing the state of the Parish upwards of seventy years ago.

About the year 1796, Sabbath schools began to be established in different parts of the country. The system was new; and being carried out, in most cases, in a spirit of hostility to the Established Church, it produced much irritation of feeling. In 1799 the General Assembly issued a Pastoral Letter on the subject, containing some sentiments which the Church would certainly not now homologate. The Assembly also enjoined Presbyteries to enforce the laws which placed all teachers of youth under the supervision of the Church. An Act of Parliament had been passed after the rebellion of 1745 prohibiting private schools, till such time as the teachers should take the oaths to Government, and have their schools registered. In the autumn of 1799, a com-

mittee of the Presbytery of Cupar waited upon the Sheriff, with the request, that he would allow no teacher to get his school registered, or take the oaths to Government, till he had produced to the Sheriff an approbation of his character and abilities from the Presbytery. The request was granted, and the Presbytery then caused to be summoned before them all "missionary and private teachers, and teachers of Sunday schools" within their bounds, that they might be examined, and approved or disapproved. Accordingly, on the 22d of October, the teachers appeared, to the number of twenty-six. Three went from Balmerino Parish, viz., David Johnstone, and John Lammy, who were approved; and Andrew Morton, who was disapproved. Three others from this Parish absented themselves, viz., William Anderson, Thomas Langlands, and David M'Donald.

In December 1807, Mr James Smith, a "private teacher" in this Parish, and in 1811 a Mr Brown, submitted to a similar examination, and were approved. The existence of political disaffection and religious scepticism—the offspring of doctrines imported from revolutionary France—appears to have contributed to the adoption of such stringent measures for guarding the instruction of the young.

As we have now arrived at a period which is embraced by the memory of the older members of the present generation of the parishioners, we shall only set down a few additional notes.

In 1805 the minister acquired a grass glebe of about eight acres Scotch, in addition to the arable glebe of about the same extent. Between 1777 and 1814, there were no fewer than five excambions of portions of the arable and grass glebes. In 1802 the stipend received an increase of about 500 merks, making it 8 chalders of victual, with 600 merks, exclusive of 100 merks for Communion expenses. It would thus amount to about 10½ chalders, with £8, 6s. 8d. In 1815 the stipend was further increased to about 14½ chal-

ders; in 1835 to 16 chalders; and in 1861 to 18 chalders—half oatmeal, half barley—with £8, 6s. 8d.

A new Church, seated for 400 persons, was finished in 1811, and opened by Dr Campbell of Cupar, father of the late Lord Chancellor. While it was being erected, the congregation was united to that of Kilmany, and Mr Thomson preached in Kilmany church alternately with Mr Thomas Chalmers, who afterwards became so celebrated. The two clergymen were on very intimate terms with each other. When a new Manse was being built at Kilmany in 1810, Mr Chalmers occupied the farm-house of Fincaigs in Balmerino Parish; and, just before he left Kilmany, he assisted Mr Thomson in selecting a site for the new Manse of Balmerino, commanding a beautiful view of the Tay and Carse of Gowrie, and in laying out the plan of the house, garden, and offices. The Manse was completed in 1816. In 1830 the Parish school was removed from Bottomcraig to the village of Gauldry, where there had usually been for many years a private school.*

On the 8th of July 1824, Mr JOHN THOMSON, who had been licensed as a preacher on the 19th of December 1820, was ordained assistant and successor to his father, Mr Andrew Thomson, who survived till the 6th of March 1836. Mr John Thomson was the author of the second, or New Statistical Account of the Parish, which was written in 1838. Extending to eighteen pages octavo, it presents an excellent view of the then existing state of the Parish, with notices of its past history; and is better executed than many of the accounts of other parishes in the same volume. About thirty years ago, some Chartists from Newport commenced to hold meetings in Gauldry, which, however, were continued only for a few Sundays. In 1843 a congregation in connection with

* Mr Paton, the late schoolmaster, had no school for many years before his death, and neglected the registration of births, &c. This neglect was, however, afterwards to some extent remedied.

the Free Church was formed in Gauldry, under the ministry of Mr Andrew Melville, who seceded from Logie. A Free church and manse were erected for him at Logie, where he resided, discharging, with the aid of an assistant, the duties of both congregations till his death in 1852, when he was succeeded in the united charge by the present minister, Mr George R. Sommerville. A congregation in connection with the Secession, now the United Presbyterian Church, was formed in 1762 at Rathillet, in Kilmany parish, which has all along been attended by those of that communion living in the parish of Balmerino. The present minister is Mr James Borwick, ordained in 1837. Mr John Thomson of Balmerino died on the 22d of May 1857, in the 61st year of his age, and 33d of his ministry, and was succeeded by the present incumbent.

Part III.

HISTORY OF THE PRINCIPAL FAMILIES.

CHAPTER I.

THE LAIRDS OF NAUGHTON.

"Behold, behold, from out the shadowy Past
Our Scottish fathers start! They start, they come
With onward eyes, around their lifted heads
A troubled glory, as they fight and sing
Their stormful way across the stage of time!"

AIRD.

§ 1. THE HAYS. (FIRST FAMILY.)

It has been already stated that during the twelfth century Naughton was in the possession of a family of the name of De Lascels, and that Robert de Lunden, a natural son of William the Lion, built a tower on Naughton rock.* The next family we meet with is that of the Hays. The first Hay of Errol, according to the most authentic accounts, was William, who died towards the end of the twelfth century.†

* See pp. 21, 24.

† The traditionary account of the origin of the name of Hay, which ascribes it to the words "Hay, Hay," said to have been uttered by a countryman, who, with his two sons, turned the tide of a battle fought against the Danes at Luncarty about the year 980, and who was greatly fatigued by his exertions, is probably fabulous, and invented merely to explain the arms borne by the family, who are understood to be a branch of the Anglo-Norman Hays, who came to Britain with the Conqueror, long before whose time there were lands and a lordship of that name in Normandy. (Wood's Peerage.)

His third son was "JOHN DE HAYA DE ARDNAUGHTON," who married Juliana de Lascels. It was probably with this lady, or with Peter de Haya's wife (to be noticed below), that Naughton, in whole or in part, came into the possession of the Haya. How the connection of the Lundins with Naughton ceased, does not appear. After his wife's death, and "for the welfare of her soul," John de Haya, with consent of his son Peter, gave a yair on the river Tay "to God and St Mary of Cupar," that is, to the Cistercian Abbey of Cupar-Angus. There are mentioned in the St Andrews Priory Register, under the year 1260, "Alexander, then Constable of Adenautan," and "Hervi of Adnaughtan," regarding whom we have no farther information. There were many persons of the name of Lascels in the parishes of Forgan and Leuchars about this time. As late as 1466 and 1517 the proprietors of Innerdovat were named Lascels.*

John de Haya was, no doubt, succeeded by his son PETER. In the St. Andrews Priory Register we find Peter de Haya and (his wife) Marjory, daughter of Alan de Lascels, confirming to the Priory the church of Forgund, and chapel of Atnauthan. Peter died some considerable time before 1266, in which year Marjory de Lascels, "in her legitimate widowhood and free power," confirmed again that church and chapel to the Priory. She married, secondly, Sir Richard de Moravia or Murray, who died before 1268, when she was again a widow. In that year her son, Sir Alexander de Moravia, granted at St. Andrews another charter of confirmation of the church of Forgan and chapel of Naughton to the Priory. It would appear that the knight possessed, and lived at Newton; for in 1281 he grants, "in his full court" there, a charter of an acre of land at Segy to the Canons of St. Andrews, in addition to the land which Duncan de Lascels (who, it seems, was his mother's uncle) had previ-

* St. Andrews Priory Register. Sibbald's Hist. of Fife.

ously given to them at that place. This charter is witnessed by "John de Haya de Adenauthan," probably Sir Alexander's half-brother.*

In 1269 Bishop Gamelin of St. Andrews granted the revenues of the church of Forgan, with its chapel of Naughton and carucate of land, for "the perpetual upholding" of the Cathedral church of St. Andrews, on the retirement or death of Hugo de Strivelin, the incumbent of Forgan; but reserving the stipend of the vicar who should serve in the same.† This is the last notice we have of the chapel of Naughton.

In 1281 JOHN DE HAYA, mentioned above as witness to a charter, seems to have possessed Naughton, and to have been the second Laird so named.

The successor of John was probably WILLIAM DE HAYA, who, on the 17th of June 1292, swore fealty at Dunfermline to Edward I. of England‡—a necessity which, as we have seen, was submitted to also by the Abbots of Balmerino and Lindores about the same period.

William's immediate successor was, in all probability, "JOHN DE HAY OF ADENAUHTAN," who served on a jury at Cupar in 1312. Between 1328 and 1332 John de Haya, "lord of Athnauthan," granted to the monks of Balmerino a charter, whereby he renounced in their favour a piece of ground lying west of the village of Gauldry.§ He was alive in 1362.

The next Laird was NICHOLAS HAY of Naughton, regarding whom we know nothing more than that his name occurs in 1394.

* St. Andrews Priory Register. The Murrays possessed Newton for a considerable time after this. Newton Castle was partly surrounded by a marsh for defence, as were also those of Leuchars, Cairnie or Lord's Cairnie, Creich, and perhaps also Naughton and Kinneir.

† St. Andrews Priory Register.

‡ Appendix to Nisbet's Heraldry.

§ See page 96.

Nicholas was succeeded by SIR WILLIAM HAY of Naughton, who witnessed a charter in 1406-7. This was a famous man in his day, and had the honour of having his exploits celebrated by two of our chief ancient Scottish poets, and also by an old French chronicler. Andrew Wynton, Prior of St Serf's monastery in Lochleven, who completed his *Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland* about the year 1420, and was contemporary with our hero, thus mentions him amongst those Scotsmen who fought in Flanders under Alexander, Earl of Mar, the notorious son of the "Wolf of Badenoch:"—

"Lord of the Nachtane, schire William,
Ane honest knycht, and of gud fame,
A travailit knycht, lang before than."

The poet afterwards represents him, when about to commence an engagement, as conferring the honour of knight-hood on Gilbert Hay, who was probably a member of his own family :—

"The Lord of Nachtane, schire William,
The Hay, a knycht than of gude fame,
Made Schire Gilbert the Hay knycht."

The French chronicler, in describing the battle of Liege, which was fought on the 23d of September 1407, thus notices Sir William, and Sir Gilbert Hay, amongst those who took part with the Earl of Mar in that engagement :—

"De ceux qui là furent venu,
Des nobles Escossais ye fu
En cestuy jour, que bien le sçay,
Lors messire Guillaume Hay;
Messire Jacques Scringour
Fu en la bataille ce jour.

* * *

De Hay Sire Guillebert
Fut ce jour en armes appert
Com bon et hardi combattant.*

Under the slight disguise of "Scringour" the reader will easily recognize Sir James Scrimgeour, Constable of Dundee, who is also mentioned by Wynton of Lochleven. He was an ancestor of the Scrimgeour-Wedderburns of Birkhill.

The other Scottish poet who mentions Sir William Hay among the popular heroes of romance is Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, the celebrated translator of Virgil's *Æneid* into Scottish verse. In his "Palace of Honour," a poem written about the year 1501, the author, in a vision, finds himself in a wilderness, where he sees various troops of persons travelling to the Palace of Honour. Joining himself to the train of the Muses, he proceeds in their company to that happy place. After he has gained a view of the Palace, which is "planished with pleasure like to Paradise," and has beheld within its gates many stately tournaments and lusty sports, his attendant nymph conveys him to a garden, where he finds the goddess Venus "seated on a gorgeous throne, with ane fair mirror gently upborne" before her, and in this mirror he sees shadowed forth the great events of the history of the universe, from the creation of the angels downwards! Amongst other personages, says the poet,

"I saw Raf Coilzear with his thrawin brow,
Craibit Johnie the Reif, and auld Cowkilbeis sow,
And how the wran came out of Ailssay,
And Peirs Plewman that maid his workmen few,
Greit Gowmacmorne, and Fyn-Mac-Cowl, and how
Thay suld be goddis in Ireland, as thay say;
Thair saw I Maitland upon auld Beird Gray,

* Francisque Michel's "Les Ecosais en France—Les Français en Ecosse," vol. i., pp. 110, 111. M. Michel does not give the poet's name. See also Burton's "Scot Abroad," i., 65, 66.

Robene Hude and Gilbert with the quhite hand,
How Hay of Naughton flew in Madin land."*

From the way in which Hay of Naughton is mentioned, Mr Leighton conjectures that some of his feats of arms had formed the subject of an ancient ballad then well known, but now lost.†

The Naughton charter chest contains a very curious document, which has been already printed in Maidment's "Analecta Scotica," relating to a proposed marriage between David Hay, the son either of this Sir William, or of a subsequent Laird of the same name, and Alison Murray, daughter of Mary Murray, the wife of Alan of Kinnaird. Besides throwing light on the state of manners, the document is interesting as a specimen of the Scottish language, at that early period. It is of the same date as Wynton's Chronicle, which was written about forty-four years after Barbour's "Bruce," the only earlier *literary* specimen of the language which now exists. Bellenden's translation of Hector Boece's History of Scotland—the oldest Scottish literary *prose* that has been preserved—did not appear till a hundred and twenty-six years after the date of this marriage-contract. The original is very neatly and distinctly written on vellum. A few words have been effaced by damp. The seals are unfortunately wanting. We give it entire.

INDENTURE BETWIXT SIR WILLIAM THE HAY, AND ALAN
 OF KINARDE AND DAME MARY OF MURRAY HIS WIFE, 7TH
 DECEMBER 1420.

"This indentur, made at Dundee, the sevint day of December, the zheir of our lorde a thousand and four hundred and twenti, beris witnes that it is accordit betwix nobil and worthi men, Sir Williame the Hay, knycht, Lorde of the

* Gavin Douglas's "Palace of Honour," Part iii., xlvi. (Perth Ed. of 1788.)

† Swan and Leighton's "Fife Illustrated."

Nauchtane, on the ta parte, and Alane of Kynnarde, Lorde of that Ilke, and a nobil lady, Dame Mary of Murray his wyfe, on the tother pairt, in maner and condiciounis vnder writtin ; that is to say, that the said Dame Mary hass freli delyverit to the said Sir Williame, for a certane tretty betwix thaim made, hir douchter Alisoun of Murray, to be maryit with Davy the Hay, son and air to the said Sir Williame ; and gif it hapnis, as God forbeid, the said Davy to discesse, the foresaid mariage nocht fulfillit, the said Sir Williame sal mary the said Alisoun with ane vther son of his, and his air ; * and gif it hapnis ony of the forsaid sonnys and air to discesse, or nocht to consent to mary the said Alisoun, the said Sir Williame sal mary hir, in greabil place, with the counsale of Sir Williame Lindezai, Sir Walter Lindezai, Wat of Ogilby, and Jone Skrymgeour, constabil of Dundee, thai beand oblist, leli and treuli, to furthir the said Sir Williame til his perfyte. . . . for the said mariage ; alsua baith the forsaid partis ar oblyst to be evinlyke in the departing of the landis pertenant to the said Alisoun and hir sistris ; and gif ony debate hapnis thareapon, thai sal be submittit to the said Sir Williame Lindezai, Sir Walter Lindezai, Wat of Ogilby, and Jone Skrymgeour, and vndirly thair ordinance thareapon, but any obstakil in the contrare ; and gif it hapnis ony of thir forsaid men to falyhe, as God forbeid, thai sal tak sic lyke men in thair sted als . . . and als oft as nedis ; alsua the foresaid Alane of Kynnarde, and Dame Mary his wyfe, ar oblist to the said Sir Williame that nane of thaim sal [trete, na ?] ger tret, na thole to be tretit, als fer as thai may, leli and treuli, but fraude or gyle, Isobel, the douchter of the said Dame

* A singular proof how little regard was paid to the objections of the fair sex in those days. If one brother did not fancy her, Alison was, without ceremony, to be turned over to the next. She, on the contrary, had no power of refusal, however much she might dislike the intended spouse. (*Maidment's Note.*)

Mary, to mak [alienatioun ?] of ony parte of hir heritage fra the richtwiss aires ; and in the lyke maner the said Sir Williame is oblist that he sal nocht trete the forsaid [Alisoun ?] of Murray, na ger trete, na thole to be tretit, als fer as he may, leli and treuli, but fraude or gyle, noithir in virginite na viduite, til [alienate ?] ony parte of hir heritage fra the richtwiss airis, and to this bathe the partis ar oblist, vndir gude faithe ; alsua the forsaid Sir Williame [sal have ?] in keping and gowernaunce al the landis that pertenis to the said Isobel of Murray ay qwill scho be recoverit of hir seiknes or dede, [assith-] and till him the thrid part, and assithand til hir, ilke zheir, the twa partis of al the fruytis and profitis of hir said landis durand the tyme befor . . . alsua the said Sir Williame is oblist to do for the landis that pertenis to Thomas of Kynnarde and his wyfe Gilis of Murray, anenss the [recou-] eryl of thaim at his gudli powar, as he dois for the landis that pertenis to the said Alisoun of Murray, but fraude ; and the said Alane oblissis him and his airis til assithe to the said Sir Williame half of al the costis that he makis for the said Thomas of Kynnarde and Gilis his wyfe, and the said Alisoun, and the landis pertenand to thaim, leli and treuli, but fraude or gyle ; and [th-] at al thir conditiounis befor written be kepit leli and treuli, but fraude or gyle, hath the partis ar oblyst, ilk ane til vthir, vndir gudè faith ; and to the mair witnes of suthfastnes, the selis of the said Williame and Alane to the partis of this indentur are entirchangiabli to put, the zheir, day, moneth, and place befor written."

In contracts of this description two exact copies were written on one sheet of parchment ; they were then divided, and a copy delivered to each party. To prevent forgery, the parchment was cut in a zig-zig manner, so that if any subsequent dispute as to the authenticity of either counterpart should arise, it could easily be settled by putting the two

deeds together, and if they fitted into each other, the controversy was at once terminated. The present document is cut, or *indented* in this manner—hence the name *indenture*—and the following words are inscribed under each of the four projecting portions of it:—

- (1) Gratia plena, Domīnus tecum.
- (2) Benedicta tu in mulieribus.
- (3) Et Benedictus fructus beatus[?].
- (4) Cui Ihesu Criste. Amen.*

Sir William Hay possessed also the lands and barony of Muirtown and Ardblair, near Blairgowrie. By a charter dated the 8th of August 1423, and confirmed under the Great Seal by Murdoch, Duke of Albany, governor of Scotland, he alienated these lands in favour of William Blair of Mulyne in Perthshire.† We find Sir William Hay witnessing two charters in 1460; and his seal is affixed to a document of the year 1467.‡ He must have been then of a very great age—if there were not two successive Lairds of Naughton of this name.

Sir William Hay was succeeded by his son DAVID, the “Davy the Hay” above mentioned, whose name occurs, as designed of Naughton, in 1440. Whether he married “Alisoun of Murray” does not appear. But it is certain that he did marry successively other two ladies. In 1440 he and his spouse Catherine ——— resigned into the King’s hands the lands of Wormet, in the barony of Naughton, for a new gift of them.§ He subsequently married Isobel, daughter of Sir Thomas Wemyss of Rires, who, after Hay’s death, became the wife of David Boswell of Balmuto. She continued

* Maidment’s “*Analecta Scotica*,” Vol. II.

† Douglas’s *Baronage*.

‡ Laing’s “*Supplemental Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Scottish Seals*.” See also Appendix, No. XXIV., § 2.

§ Registr. Mag. Sigill.

to enjoy an annuity of twenty merks payable from the customs of Dundee, which was bequeathed to her by her first husband. *

Sir JAMES HAY was served heir to his father David in 1470. It was probably this Laird whose brother was Provost of Dundee, and is referred to in the following tradition. "John Bethune, son of David, and second Laird of Creich and Nether Rires, remained at home looking after the interests of the estate, while his father was engaged in his political duties. He had often occasion to be in Dundee, and became intimate with the young Constable [Scrimgeour]. The Provost, at that time, was John Hay, a brother of the Laird of Naughton, a rich man, who kept a change, which was frequented by the two young men. Hay had a fair daughter [named Janet], with whom they both fell in love; and Bethune, being the favoured suitor, succeeded, with the assistance of the Constable, in carrying off the lady, together with a cabinet containing 6000 merks in gold. They made their way to St Andrews, when Bethune, after placing her in the best inn, with the Constable and his friends, went quietly to his uncle the Archbishop, who returned with him to the inn, saw the lady and the gold, and, sending for a priest, had them married on the spot. He also wrote to the old Laird, communicating the history of the adventure, with which he was well pleased. It is said that the Bethunes were a race of dark complexion, but that after this marriage, the Bethunes of Criech were ever fair-haired and beautiful." †

* "Acts of the Lords of Council in Civil Causes," 1478-1495.

† Wood's "East Neuk of Fife," p. 47. The story is derived from Martine of Clermont's Genealogical Collections in the Advocates' Library. There is a difficulty as to the date, James Bethune not having been Archbishop of St Andrews till after the death of David Bethune of Criech. But he was Archbishop of Glasgow, and might have been in St Andrews at the time referred to.

Sir James Hay had a son William, who predeceased him ; and a daughter, on whom the property afterwards devolved. In 1494 he granted an obligation for marrying his daughter and heiress, Janet, to Sir Peter Crichton. Sir James died in 1513, probably at the battle of Flodden, which was fought in that year, and was fatal to so many of the Scottish gentry. In the same year Janet was served heiress to her father, and this family of Hays, after three hundred years' possession of Naughton, became extinct in the principal male line.

From a valuation of Fife, of the year 1517, printed in Sibbald's History, it appears that half of the extensive barony of Naughton had, previous to that period, been acquired by the Lairds of Kinnaird. The half thus alienated would appear to have been in the present parish of Forgan. In 1616 John Kinnaird of that Ilk was served heir to his father in the superiority of half of the lands and barony of Naughton, including the patronage of the Chapel of St. Thomas of Seamylnes (at Newport), the ferry from Seamylnes to Dundee, the milln of Seamylnes, &c., then incorporated in the barony of Kinnaird. This superiority afterwards passed to the Livingstones of Kinnaird.*

§ 2. THE CRICHTONS AND BALFOURS OF NAUGHTON.

In 1517 SIR PETER CRICHTON and his wife, Janet Hay, obtained a Crown charter of Naughton in their favour. Crichton was Master of the Wardrobe to James III., and was descended from Lord Crichton, Chancellor of Scotland in the reign of James II. Before his succession to Naughton,

* Thomson's "*Inquisitionum Retornatarum Abbreviatio.*" See also Appendix, No. XXIV, § 2.

he was designed of Sandford, where he seems to have lived after his marriage. In 1524 the name of Sir Peter Crichton of Naughton occurs amongst those of the Scottish Lords who signed the engagement to Queen Margaret, widow of James IV. In 1529 Sir Peter alienated the barony of Naughton in favour of his son David; and in the same year James V. executed a Precept declaring that these lands were redeemable on payment of certain sums. As Sir Peter Crichton continued to be designed of Naughton, it may be presumed that he redeemed his estate. As Knight-Captain of Edinburgh Castle, he refused in 1543 to deliver up that fortress to the Regent Arran, when the young Queen Mary was being conveyed from Stirling to Linlithgow. Arran, however, forcibly got possession of the Castle, and appointed another Captain. In 1546, Sir Peter, along with several neighbouring Fife gentlemen, warmly espoused the cause of the conspirators in the Castle of St. Andrews, for which they were threatened by Arran with death or imprisonment, if the Castle were not surrendered.*

Sir Peter had a brother, George Crichton, who was a fellow-student of the poet Dunbar at St. Andrews, and took his Master's degree there in 1479. George afterwards became Abbot of Holyroodhouse, and in 1526 was promoted to the bishopric of Dunkeld. He is described by Spottiswoode, the Church historian, as "a man nobly disposed, very hospitable, but in matters of religion not much skilled." In 1528 he formed one of the court of Bishops and Abbots who tried and condemned Patrick Hamilton at St. Andrews for heresy—the first martyr to Protestant principles in Scotland. Thomas Forret, vicar of Dollar, who was of the family of Forret in Logie parish, was also cited to appear before Bishop Crichton, on the charge of preaching every Sunday

* Tytler's "Life of the Admirable Crichton," 2d Ed., p. 13. Lyon's Hist. of St. Andrews, II., 368. Lesley's History.

to his parishioners—a duty then generally neglected by the parochial clergy, and left to the friars. In course of the examination to which Forret was subjected, the Bishop, condemning the use of the Scriptures, said to him, “I thank God that I never knew what the Old and the New Testament was; therefore I will know nothing but my Portuise and Pontifical” *—from which words there arose a proverb, long current in Scotland, “You are like the Bishop of Dunkeld, that knew neither the New Law nor the Eld.” The Bishop, in a spirit of kindness, endeavoured to persuade the vicar to abandon what he considered a dangerous course, but without effect. The whole dialogue which took place between them is very amusing, but is too long for insertion here. It may be seen in Foxe’s “Book of Martyrs.” The result of the trial was that Forret, with several others, suffered death at the stake, on the Castle Hill of Edinburgh, in 1539. Knox informs us that one Wilson, servant of Bishop Crichton, made “a despiteful railing ballad against the preachers and against the Governor,” for which he narrowly escaped being hanged. This Bishop founded St. Thomas’s Hospital in Edinburgh, and entailed the patronage of it on several persons of the name of Crichton, kinsmen of his own; the first in the substitution being his brother, Sir Peter Crichton of Naughton, and the second, Bishop Robert Crichton. He died in 1543.†

This Robert Crichton, also Bishop of Dunkeld, and nephew of Bishop George Crichton, was probably a son of Sir Peter Crichton of Naughton. He had previously been Provost of St. Giles. When he saw the Reformation approaching, he managed to preserve his lands and palace of Clunie for his family by conveying them, on certain condi-

* According to Spottiswoode, “he thanked God he knew neither the New nor the Old Testament, and yet had prospered well enough all his days.”

† Tytler’s “Life of the Admirable Crichton.”

tions, to his kinsman, Robert Crichton of Ellicock, Lord-Advocate, and father of the Admirable Crichton.*

In 1539 Sir Peter Crichton acquired from Robert, the last Abbot of Balmerino, the lands of Cathills, and a portion of Kilburns. He was still alive in 1543. He had at least three sons, David and William, both of whom became successively Lairds of Naughton, and James, designed of Cranston-Riddel, who was Captain of Edinburgh Castle, and died before 1535.†

DAVID CRICHTON of Naughton married Lady Janet Leslie, daughter of George, third Earl of Rothes. In 1542 he was appointed Captain and Keeper of Edinburgh Castle during his lifetime, and had four hundred marks assigned to him annually for that office.‡ But this was perhaps only a prospective appointment as his father's successor.

In 1553 Queen Mary made a gift of the non-entry of Naughton to David Panter, Bishop of Ross, a man of great learning, and frequently employed in public negotiations both at home and abroad. It would thus appear probable that David Crichton had died before the year 1553, and that his brother, the next heir, had neglected to enter himself with the superior, or, as it is otherwise expressed, had failed to renew the investiture—non-entry being the casualty which in such a case falls to the superior, who is entitled to the rents of the feu.

WILLIAM CRICHTON, designed of Drylaw in Midlothian, was served heir to his brother David in 1558. In 1563 he alienated the barony of Naughton in favour of his son Alexander, and in the same year Queen Mary confirmed the ransaction. He lived, however, long afterwards.

ALEXANDER CRICHTON of Drylaw and Naughton, and his

* Tytler's "Life of the Admirable Crichton."

† "Liber Officialis S. Andree," printed for the Abbotsford Club.

‡ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials.

relative, Bishop Robert Crichton of Dunkeld, were warm partizans of Queen Mary, and joined those who, under Kirkaldy of Grange, held Edinburgh Castle in her interest, and were hence called Castilians. In 1570 Drylaw was the leader of a band of Castilians, who, sallying out of the Castle, forcibly rescued one of their friends that was then imprisoned in the Tolbooth for a murder which he had committed.* On the decline of the Queen's affairs in 1571, Drylaw, with the Bishop of Dunkeld, three sons of Balfour of Mountquhany, George Douglas the "Postulate," and many others of her party had their estates forfeited. But remaining still faithful to the Queen's interests, they fell into the hands of the opposite faction in 1573, when the Castle was taken. Kirkaldy himself was executed. Most of the others, including Bishop Crichton, were sent prisoners to Blackness Castle. Alexander Crichton of Drylaw was probably imprisoned in the same fortress. He was, however, afterwards liberated.†

During these troubles, GEORGE DOUGLAS, Bishop of Moray, acquired Naughton,‡ but in what manner does not appear. This notorious person was a natural son of Archibald, Earl of Angus, and was called the "Postulate," because he had formerly been Postulate and Commendator of Arbroath Abbey. He was one of the chief agents in the murder of Rizzio, to whom he gave the first blow, by stabbing him over the Queen's shoulder with such fury, that the blood was sprinkled over her Majesty's garments, and the

* Calderwood's Hist. of the Kirk of Scotland, vol. iii., p. 21.

† Ibid., vol. iii., p. 137. Tytler's Hist. of Scotland.

‡ "Closed Record in Question between the Lord-Advocate, and Mrs Catherine Eunice Mackenzie or Morison, and Robert Haldane, Esq., W.S., Tutors to Miss Morison of Naughton, &c.," 29 Oct. 1856. The author is indebted to Mr Haldane for a copy of this valuable Record, and for other information concerning Naughton, which he has incorporated in these pages.

dagger left sticking in Rizzio's side. He also finished the business, by snatching from its sheath the dagger of Darnley (whose heart now failed him), and plunging it into the mangled corpse, exclaiming at the same time, "This is the blow of the King;" his object in so doing being to draw attention to Darnley's complicity in the assassination, lest he should afterwards deny it. "The Postulate" had previously proposed to Darnley that they should drown the Italian, while the three were engaged in fishing on a lake.* He became Bishop of Moray in 1573.

In 1574 Bishop George Douglas resigned the lands of Naughton in favour of ALEXANDER CRICHTON, and the transaction was confirmed in the same year by James VI. The royal charter styles Crichton "apparent of Drylaw," and confers upon him the usual baronial rights, including the power of *pit and gallows*.† The charter is witnessed by (amongst others) the celebrated George Buchanan, as Keeper of the Privy Seal. The trial of this Laird in 1587 has been already noticed.‡ In 1582 he was one of the executors of the will of the Admirable Crichton's father.

The estate of Naughton having become burdened with debt to the amount of about 18,000 merks, Alexander Crichton sold, in 1594, to DAVID BALFOUR of Balledmonth, in Forgan parish, the lands and fishings of Byrehills, Kirkhills, Cathills, Wormet,§ and the superiority of a portion of

* Miss Strickland's Life of Queen Mary.

† The charter also confirms to Crichton the patronage of the "churches and chapellanies" of the barony, which had belonged to Bishop Douglas. But it is difficult to make out what these were, the church of Forgan having belonged to St. Andrew's Priory, the chapel of Naughton being apparently no longer in existence, and that of St. Thomas of Seamylnes having been, in all probability, previously transferred to the Laids of Kinnaird.

‡ See page 171.

§ In Bleau's Atlas (1662) a loch, or sheet of water is placed at Wormet. But as there was a mill there, it is perhaps only the mill-dam that is meant.

Innerdovat, and other lands. Some of these lands had been previously mortgaged to Balfour, and to his father, David Balfour, whose wife Catherine Crichton was probably of the family of Naughton. The portion thus alienated amounted to about two-thirds of the whole barony as then existing, and the sum received for it was 22,000 merks.

In 1596 SIR ANDREW BALFOUR of Balledmonth got a Crown charter of confirmation of these lands, together with those of Balledmonth, Sandford, Frierton, and others; all which were thereby incorporated in one "free tenandry," to be called the "tenandry of Balledmonth." In 1612 Sir Andrew sold the lands and fishings of Byrehills, Kirkhills, and Cathills to Peter Hay of Nether Durdie.

We now return to the Crichtons. In 1594 LUDOVIC, son of Alexander Crichton, obtained a Crown charter, which was followed by another in 1601, confirming to him the remaining lands of Naughton, viz., the Tower, Manor-place, and Mains of Naughton, Brownhills, Gallowhills, Galray, Skur, Kilburns, and the superiority of Segy and of Sandford-Hay; and incorporating these in a "free tenandry," to be called the "tenandry of Naughton."

In 1615 Ludovic Crichton alienated the Mains of Naughton to James Ramsay; and in 1621, with consent of his eldest son Ludovic Crichton, the said James Ramsay, and other curators and creditors, he sold to PETER HAY of Nether Durdie all the lands and superiorities forming the "tenandry" of Naughton. In the same year George, eldest son of Peter Hay, obtained confirmation by the Crown of a charter then granted to him by his father, of the whole barony thus reunited, and as existing in recent times.*

* See Appendix, No. XXIV., § 3, 4.

§ 3. THE HAYS OF NAUGHTON. (SECOND FAMILY.)

PETER HAY of Naughton was the eldest son of George Hay of Ross, a branch of the Hays of Megginch, who were descended, through the Hays of Leys, from the family of Errol.*

Peter Hay acquired, in the year 1600, the estate of Nether Durdie in Kilspindie parish, but resigned it before 1621. In 1617 he obtained a Crown charter of Nether Frierton in the parish of Forgan, which was confirmed to him and his son George in 1643; in which latter year they also acquired the barony of Blebo. A few years afterwards, Blebo was sold to a brother of Bethune of Balfour. Peter Hay acquired also various lands in Balmerino Parish, in addition to those of Naughton. Between 1620 and 1622 he purchased the eastern half of Newgrange (now Fincraigs), including the half of the lands of Cleikumsleuch, of Battlelaw, and of Outfield of Byres, with 13 acres in Bangove, 16 acres in Dochrone, 6 acres in Cultra, 3 acres in Harlands, and 1 acre in Woodflat—all which had been possessed in the latter half of the previous century by a family named Ramsay.† Before 1631 Peter Hay also acquired North Kirkton of Balmerino, otherwise described as “four oxgates of arable land on the north part of the Mains or Manor Place of Balmerino.” These lands had been feued by Abbot Robert in 1551 to Thomas Wilson, had passed in 1600 to his son Henry Wilson, and in 1617 belonged to Robert Fyfe.

Peter Hay was a man of no small celebrity in his day. He took a keen interest in the ecclesiastical questions which then agitated the country, and twice appeared as an author.

* Information regarding the descent of this family, as well as of the former Hays of Naughton, was kindly communicated to the author by T. D. Buchanan Hay, Esq. of Morton.

† See Part IV., Chap. V.

His first work, published in London in 1616, is entitled, "*A Vision of Balaams Asse. Wherein Hee did perfectly see the present estate of the Church of Rome. Written by Peter Hay, Gentleman of North Britaine,* for the reformation of his Countrymen. Specially of that truly Noble and sincere Lord, Francis Earle of Errol, Lord Hay, and great Constable of Scotland.*" It is dedicated to George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, but has prefixed to it a long address to King James, explaining why it was not dedicated to His Majesty. From this book we learn much of Peter Hay's early history. Like the head of his family, Lord Errol, he was bred a Roman Catholic. But "as Plato and other philosophers had travelled over the world to acquire natural knowledge, he thought it both ignominious and dangerous for him, if he should not pain himself to understand the truth of God's worship; whereupon, transported with the fury of this prejudice, and closing his eyes against the splendour of the Word which did shine at home, he resolved once to fine himself *intra limina apostolorum*, within the town of Rome, that pretended mother Church, without the which, there was no means of salvation, as then he did imagine." His peregrinations beyond seas had, however, been judged by many to be "untimely, temerary, perillous, and unprofitable;" and a certain Papist had said of him, "that he had gone abroad the voyage of King Saul, to bring home his father's asses, which bitter insectation, with many such like tempests of men's tongues, he had since (like a true and up-right ass) borne forth with no other armour than patience." It was this sarcasm, together with the circumstance that only two "beasts" are mentioned in Scripture as possessing the faculty of speech, the serpent and the ass, which induced him to write his book, and to take the name of Ass in the

* There is ample internal evidence that the author of this book, and of the "First Blast of the Trumpet," noticed below, was the same Peter Hay.

title of it. As the serpent opened his mouth "to suborn impiety and rebellion against God," and the ass opened his mouth to reprehend sin in the prophet, so the serpent (he concludes) must be the worst of beasts, and the ass "the best and most simple of beasts, and most excellent for natural goodness."

So sincere a Roman Catholic had he been, that when in France, he had often heard more than twenty masses in one week. In a letter to Lord Errol, written from Paris, he had praised his own resolution of coming forth, like Abraham, that he might worship the Lord truly, and be blessed of him in a strange land. He was then "so pleased with the shows [of the Romish worship] so gracious to the senses, that he took no pleasure in lifting up the veil which was so delicately painted; reserving his chief curiosity to have her contentment in the famous city of Rome, the chiefest theatre for knowledge of things." The effect of his visit to Rome was, however, the reverse of what he had anticipated. What he saw there was much worse than anything he had witnessed in France; and the pretended power of working miracles, the Pope's dispensations and indulgences, and the condition of the cloistral life opened his eyes to the true nature of Popery. Returning through France, he had interviews with the famous Protestant Causabon, with whom he had been previously acquainted, and who now still farther exposed to him Rome's opposition to Reformation. On his arrival in England, he delivered to King James (whom, as a matter of course, he compares to Solomon) some communications with which Causabon had charged him. The King, "by his rare and singular wit," displayed in his table talk, helped him still farther to a settlement in Reformation principles. Having reached Scotland, and being in Perth, where Errol was then confined, he, with his Lordship, often heard "that great and divine preacher," afterwards the Bishop of Galloway, who, for Errol's instruction, preached against "Rome's an-

tiquity, universality, and succession," which still farther benefited him. "After this (says he) I went to dwell in Dundee for the space of two whole years, where I did most diligently hear that excellent preacher, Master David Lyndsay, and his fellow-labourer in the church of that city, in whose worth, I think, doth consist no small part of the happiness thereof." He likewise studied theology, and at length "got a sure hold of the thread of God's Word, which is our only guide through this mystical pilgrimage of human follies, of which thread Christ hath left the one end here with us on earth, in his word, and hath tied the other upon the gate of heaven, which he did first open."

Though he was thus led to renounce Popery, he confesses that he had been beholden to the Pope's humane and courteous behaviour to him during his residence in his dominions, and to the true affection of some of his cardinals, in whom he saw nothing but virtuous conversation. But to the charge brought against him by some Papists, that he went to Rome *per fare le spia*, to play the spy, and that he received the Pope's money, and paid him back with false measure on his return home, he answers that he received nothing from the Pope, except "medals, beads, *Agnus Deis*, indulgences, and such childish toys and trash, whereof he made small account even then, much less now. He might have pursued the Pope's money, but did not."

Besides the account of its author's recantation of Popery, the volume (which extends to 306 pages, small quarto) contains a full exposure of the "tyranny of Rome," a discussion of the question of her reformation or downfall, and a lengthy argument in favour of Episcopal government of the Church, and of the use of organs in her worship. "When I hear (he says) the *Te Deum* in the vulgar tongue, gravely and reverently sung in the Cathedral Churches of England, how others are affected, I know not, but for myself, methinks the very celestial temple of God is brought down among us, or we in

these bodies wrapt up among the seraphims, and bearing parts in the quire of heavenly soldiers. Moreover unto such vocal singing here is distinctly added the other help of adorning and adorning the heavenly Majesty by instrumental harmony, *the harps*; and they honoured with an attribute, *the harps of God.*" This book, though, like most of the writings of that age, abounding in quaint conceits, shows (as does also Hay's other treatise) that he was a close observer, an able, and sometimes eloquent defender of the opinions he had adopted, and well read in the Classics and Christian Fathers. The volume also contains a specimen of its author's powers in Latin composition, being a complimentary inscription to King James in elegiac verse.*

Peter Hay's second book (also in small quarto) was published by Raban of Aberdeen† in 1627, the author being then sixty years of age. It is entitled, "*An Advertisement to the Subjects of Scotland of the fearfull Dangers threatened to Christian States; and, namely, to Great Britaine by the Ambitione of Spayne; with a contemplation of the truest Meanes to oppose it. Also Diverse other Treatises Touching the present estate of the kingdome of Scotland verie necessarie to be knowne, and considered, in this Tyme; called THE FIRST BLAST OF THE TRUMPET. Written by Peter Hay of Naughton in North Britaine.*"‡

The publication of this book made a great sensation, and it was to have been considered, perhaps condemned, in the Diocesan Synod of St. Andrews, on the 2d of October 1627, as may be inferred from the following entry in the Synod

* See Appendix, No. XI.

† Raban was a printer from England, who first settled at St. Andrews, and afterwards at Aberdeen, being the first printer north of the Grampians. This book of Hay's was the fourth ever printed in Aberdeen. (See Innes's "Sketches, &c." p. 299.)

‡ This title was obviously an imitation of that of a work by Knox.

Minutes of that date :—"My Lord Archbishop desired that the purpose concerning Mr Peter Hay of Naughton his buik suld not be mentioned in the publick Synod, and declared that his Lordship wald not be present if the sam war spoken of." Some writers, having evidently not seen this book (which, as well as the "Vision of Balaams Asse," is now extremely scarce), have described it as offensive to the Archbishop, but the opposite is more probably the truth. Row terms Hay "a Papist, who was blyth that the bishops were so risen, and riseing to preferment in this countrey." But Sir James Balfour of Denmiln more correctly designates him "a sworn servant of the hierarchy." One portion of the book, entitled "*Reformation of the Barre and Advocates, how necessary*," was answered in verse by David Primrose in "*An Apology for Advocates*." (Edinburgh, 1628, 4to.)*

Sir James Balfour says† :—"Amongst articles which came here subscribed by the King, dated Wainstead, 12th July 1626, one (No. 9) was, 'You shall desyre Mr Peitter Hay of Naughton to deliver his booke to be perused by the Archbishop of St. Andrews and you ; and when ye have reformed such things as you think fitting, that you causse put the same to the presse and publish it.' Article No. 10 was, 'Ye shall certify the said Mr Peitter from us, that we have taken notice of his good service done to our late deir father, and of his ability and suffieciency to serve us, and, when fitting occasion shall offer, we shall not be forgetful, but have a care of his preferment.'

CHARLES REX."

As a specimen of this book, and as showing how the Scottish Reformation affected tenant-farmers of Church lands which (like those of this Parish) had been afterwards erected into temporal lordships, we present the following

* Row's History of the Kirk, p. 381, note. (Wodrow Soc. Ed.)

† Works, vol. II., p. 145.

passages, in which the author, no doubt, has his neighbour, Lord Balmerino, in his eye:—

“The old Abbot and his Convent anciently following the monastic life, exempted from public offices, or travelling to Court or Session, or anywhere else abroad [?], they were content with the payment of their rental in easiest manner, and often times with less, and did bestow great part thereof in hospitality to the payers; and albeit their poor tenants were oblisht to them for service of harriage and carriage, yet they did impeach them no more but once a year to lead in to their cloisters, upon the cloistral charges, some fleshes, fishes, or fuel: this was all. But now, with the change of the lord, the tenant hath changed the happiness of his poor condition. For why? To speak sincerely, the tyranny of the Papal Abbots was exercised most in that case against their king, by spoiling from him the vasallage of his natural subjects; otherwise, they were most bountiful and indulgent to their tenants, who now by this change are brought to as pitiful slavery as the Israelites under Pharaoh. Their lord he is not a churchman, nor of the cloistral profession: he hath continual ado with Court and Session: he hath daily occasion of sending carriages, and bringing from abroad: the basest of his servants must not go afoot, he must be carried, if it were upon the neck of his poor tenant: he must labour his lord’s vineyards, and make his brick, with much hunger in his belly the meanwhile. The king cannot help him, because his lord hath the authority of an heritable court, and is absolute over him: he will not lead his tithes, but still he must have more than the worth in bolls, and when it is so, greater prices than be ordinary; if he have to send through the country his cooks, the poor man must bring the horse from the harrows, albeit the season were never so fair; and a number of like things, which if they be not presently done, he taketh decreets to himself in his own courts (which no Christian king doeth), and sendeth his officers to poynd the poor creature with such rigour, that

if there were no more in his house but the pet, wherein his silly portion of meat is preparing, it must be taken from him; that very sure it is, that Christian people be not so oppressed under the Turk." And again:—"Whereas they were illuded in the beginning of Reformation of religion in Scotland, and made to believe that they should pay but the fifteenth sheaf, now it [the tenth sheaf] is so rigorously exacted, that if there be a stuck ruffled with the weather, or with the beasts, that the Tenthmaster will not have; he must have the best. And in place to shave the poor man's hair gently, by a violent pull he bringeth with him a portion of his hide."

In this second book the author says that he "has now gotten place upon an higher stage, and has become familiar with the muses, more sublime and divine, where he understands nature." This volume accordingly contains a specimen of his poetical powers in the vernacular, as the other showed his abilities in the composition of Latin verse. It is a poem of eighty four-lined stanzas, and is entitled, "*An Heroicke Song in Prayses of the Light, most fitting for the Nightes Meditation.*" The following are the first five stanzas, the spelling being, as in the former extracts, modernized:—

"New down is gone the stately globe of light
Which Thou, great God, created'st for the day,
And we are wrapt into the clouds of night,
When sprites of darkness come abroad to prey.

"Our body's from its functions releas'd,
Our senses are surpris'd unto sleep,
To guard our souls, Lord Jesus Christ, make haste,
Deserted thus into a fearful sleep.

"Keep light into the lantern of our mind,
For to direct our watching sprite aright,
That though our foes were all in one combined,
They may not yet attrap us by their sleight.

"Light was the first-born daughter of the Lord,
Who with her beams did bask and beautify
That vast chaos, before of God abhorred,
And made her members lovely, as we see.

"Yet is this Light nought but a shallow stream
Of that above in glory infinite,
And so but of His shadow hath the name,
Who did into that narrow globe confine it."

Near the conclusion of the poem are the following stanzas, in which the author imagines the several orders of creation harmoniously uniting in celebrating the praises of the Most High :—

"There thou shalt see Christ settled in his throne,
As golden Phœbus in his silver sphere ;
Amongst nine choirs of angels, Lord alone,
Like planets placed about his royal chair ;

"Where troops of saints, like stars, do move astray ;
As scaly squadrons sport into the deep,
So in that Lightsome ocean they play,
And still an heavenly harmony they keep

"Of music, that can never be expressed ;
Yet, by a sensible similitude,
We may imagine that it is addressed
By four chief parts of men, so understood ;

"And that, by several alternatives,
A mutual and mighty melody
One theatre t' another aye derives,
Sounding the gloire of that Great Majesty.

"The Alto angels sing, as I suppose,
Of 'stablished rank, the foremost stage they fill ;
To celebrate His Providence they choose,
And divine names belonging thereuntill.

"The Tenor by the voice of saints resounds,
The praises of his sanctity they sing ;

And this echó from stage to stage rebounds,
Holy, holy is our Almighty King!

"The Bass is tuned by harmon' of the spheres:
The sweet consent that we see them among
The true characters of his wisdom bears,
And learned* hold them vocal in their song.

"The Halleluiah of the Church militant
Mounts up to make the Counter-Bass perfyte,
With lofty strains of music resonant
His goodness and His mercy they indite.

"The subtle alchemist can separate
The quintessence, and make it to ascend;
So are the Church's prayers alembicate
By that great Sprite who doth her still defend."

Peter Hay's conduct towards the second Lord Balmerino in reference to a supplication to the King, which nearly cost that nobleman his life, will be found noticed in the sequel.†

Lieutenant-Colonel James Hay, one of Peter Hay's sons, was taken prisoner at Karbester in 1650, and ordered by the Scottish Parliament to be sent in custody to Edinburgh. In 1654 he, "a gentleman intimat with the English, and for them (says Lamont of Newton, in his Diary), was chosen att Cuper of Fyfe, by the gentrie of Fyfe, for ther Comissioner" to the Parliament to be held at London, 3d September 1654.

Peter Hay was succeeded by his eldest son GEORGE. Lamont informs us, that in 1649 George Hay was chosen one of the Commissioners to Parliament for the shire of Fyfe. In the following year he was appointed one of six persons "to visit the counts of His Majesty's treasury and his household affairs." Being opposed to Cromwell's usurpation, he

* *Learned*, i.e., learned men.

† See page 288.

was fined in 1654, by the Protector, in the large sum of £1000 sterling. Many of the Fife proprietors never recovered from the losses which they sustained at this time, by the exactions of both the political parties who divided the country. Lamont informs us that Patrick Hay, Naughton's brother, was one of several gentlemen who were kept prisoners by the English in Edinburgh Castle, and who, on the 28th May 1654, escaped over the Castle wall by tying their sheets and blankets together, and using them for ropes. Another of the party was Lord Kinnowall. The melancholy death of the wife of Patrick Hay, Naughton's son, is thus narrated by Lamont, under the 30th of June 1668. "Margaret Sword, the deceased Provost Sword* att St Andrews his daughter, leatly wedded to Mr Pa. Hay, one of Nawghton's sonnns, was interred at Balmirrine in the day tyme in like maner. Some dayes before, haveing gone owt to the Nawghton to make a visitt from St. Andrews, she fell downe a stair ther, and brack both hir leggs, and putt hir armes owt of ioynt; of which fall she shortly after dyed."

Another son of this Laird was John Hay, D.D., minister of Falkland in 1673, and "outed" at the Revolution. In 1682 he acquired the estate of Wester-Conland. Another son of George Hay, named Thomas, was an officer in the King's Scots Guards, and was the father of James Hay, minister of Balmerino. George Hay, minister of Balmerino, was perhaps also a son of this Laird. Isabel, eldest daughter of George Hay of Naughton, was married in 1650 to the second Sir John Leslie of Birkhill. "The marriage feast (says Lamont) stood att Nawghtin in Fyfe." This lady pre-

* There is a monument in St. Andrews Cemetery to a James Sword, who died in 1657, probably the person here referred to. It is stated of him that he "had lived in Christ," *vixerat in Christo*; but some one has put a dot after the *vix*, which makes the words read *vix erat in Christo*, "he was scarcely in Christ." (Lyon's History of St. Andrews, vol. II., p. 162).

sented her brother, the minister of Falkland, with two Communion cups (of silver) for that Church, in which they are still used. We have seen that her father presented two similar cups to Balmerino Church, and that other two were afterwards added by the bequest of his grandson.*

George Hay was succeeded in Naughton by his eldest son PETER, regarding whom Lamont has the following, under July 1655 :—"The young Laird of Naughton, surnamed Hay, in Fyfe, married the young lady of Pittreue, Fordell Henderson's sister ; they were married at Achtertoulle by Mr Andro Waker. They were at Halyeards, be way of visit, and none knew that they intended to be married so suddenlie."

In 1670 Peter Hay obtained a Crown charter of all the lands then possessed by his family, whereby they were united in a barony, to be called the "barony of Naughton." This charter was ratified by Parliament in 1672. The barony thus erected anew comprehended various lands which, as we have seen, did not form part of the original barony.

In the persecution which raged at this period, the Laird of Naughton suffered for his Presbyterian principles. It appears that he was imprisoned. Wodrow states that on the 23d of July, 1685, Patrick Hay (meaning, apparently, Peter Hay) of Naughton was liberated under bond of £10,000 sterling, to appear when called. In 1690 and following years, he was one of a Royal Commission for the visitation of universities and schools, under the Revolution Government.†

Peter Hay died in 1784, and was succeeded by his eldest son JOHN, who was a captain in the army.

John Hay died in 1709, without surviving issue, when the estate went to his brother ROBERT, who had a numerous family. Robert Hay had been previously designated of

* See page 235.

† In 1695 "Lady Naughton" had a property in Dunfermline parish, whose annual value was L.869 Scots. (Sibbald's History of Fife and Kinross, Adamson's Ed., App., No. VII.)

Drumcarro, and in 1704-5 had rented Birkhill House. In 1718 he was appointed a member of a Royal Commission for visiting the University of St. Andrews. This was the last Laird of Naughton of the name of Hay. The estate, being heavily mortgaged, was brought to a judicial sale by the creditors in 1737. Robert Hay appears either to have died, or to have left Naughton, several years before that period. There was a judicial factor on the estate in 1732.*

§ 4. THE MORISONS OF NAUGHTON.

When Robert Hay of Naughton became involved in pecuniary difficulties, his wants, it is said, were frequently supplied by loans of money from WILLIAM MORISON, merchant in Dundee, a man of frugal business habits, who, by his diligence and economy, had accumulated a large amount of wealth. Morison was in the habit of appearing at Naughton in a very unpretending style, and wearing plain threadbare garments; in consequence of which he was sometimes supposed to be a poor wanderer in quest of charity, rather than a man of means who had come to supply the wants of the Laird, and at the same time to receive ample security for his money. On one occasion, when Mr Hay's son, a gay dashing young man, whose high spirits were nowise depressed by his father's difficulties, was riding on horseback, he met Mr Morison walking in the grounds of Naughton. Being unacquainted with the unassuming stranger, and disliking his appearance, young Hay dismounted, and gave him a thorough whipping with the horse-whip which he carried. On returning to the Castle, he related his performance to his father, who, being shocked at his son's reckless conduct, replied in dismay, "Laddie, you have whipped the Laird of

* See Appendix, No. XXIV., § 5.

Naughton!" His words turned out to be true, for, when the estate was sold, it was purchased by this William Morison, who was the chief creditor.

In 1745 William Morison obtained a Crown charter in his own favour, and in that of James Morison his eldest son, of the barony of Naughton, including the superiority of Seggie, Sandford-Hay, Redmyre, and Hay's Mills, in Leuchars and Forgan parishes, and the property of half the lands of Seggie, and of certain lands in Balmerino Parish acquired by the Hays after the year 1670.

William Morison was succeeded by his son JAMES, who was a merchant and Bailie of Dundee. He was known by the *sobriquet* of "Bailie Clip," in consequence of certain operations he was alleged to be in the habit of performing on the current coin of the realm.

James Morison was succeeded by his son JAMES, who, in 1778, obtained a Crown charter of his father's estate. He was the only one of a family of nine who reached the age of manhood, and he had not received an education suitable to the position to which he ultimately succeeded, by the death of his elder brothers. He lived for a time at Bellfield, in Cupar, coming out to Naughton in summer only, where he occupied a two-storied house in the more modern part of the Castle buildings. Eventually he resided constantly at Naughton, having built the present Mansion House about the year 1790. About the same period the tower of the old Castle, being in danger of falling, was undermined and taken down, and the whole building dismantled. The Lairds of Naughton had lived on the Castle Rock for about six hundred years previous to this date.* There are still in Naugh-

* There is a tradition in the Parish, that on one occasion the wife of a Laird of Naughton, who had become insane, threw her child out of a window of the Castle, but that the child was saved from being precipitated to the bottom of the deep valley behind the Castle, by being caught in the branches of a tree.

ton House two old pictures, which give the front and back views of the Castle buildings, as they stood in 1760. James Morison was reckoned a very convivial man even in those convivial times, and many stories are told of his hospitality, and good-humoured freaks amongst his tenants and others. He married the daughter and heiress of the Rev. David Maxwell, minister, and Laird of part, of Strathmartine, but his daughter Isobel was the only one of his children who survived him. His only son William became Colonel of the Tayside Fencibles, which regiment had been raised by him in the district. It is said that the intended embarkation of this regiment on one occasion for foreign service, which was much opposed by the men, as being contrary to their terms of enlistment, was at the eleventh hour stopped by Government, in consequence of Colonel Morison's energetic remonstrances. Having run into debt, he was obliged by his father, who had a just horror of debt, to sell the estate of Strathmartine, which he inherited from his mother, though much less than its value was obtained for it.

James Morison died in 1816, and was succeeded by his daughter ISOBEL, who married William Bethune of Blebo. Their only child, Isabella Maxwell Morison, died at Paris in 1818, being then in the twenty-third year of her age. On the death of William Bethune, his widow, adopting the name of Mrs Bethune Morison, resided at Naughton, where she died in 1850, in the ninetieth year of her age. She bequeathed the estate of Naughton to a distant relative, ADAM ALEXANDER DUNCAN, only son of Captain the Honourable Sir Henry Duncan, who was the second son of Viscount Duncan, the hero of Camperdown.* On Mr Duncan's suc-

* Mrs B. Morison inherited from her mother the estates of Drummie and Boglea. She sold the former, and purchased Nydie, which she bequeathed to Major Bethune, of the family of Bethune of Blebo. She left the estate of Boglea to James Walker Bethune Morison, of

cession in 1850, he assumed the additional name of Morison. He died in 1855, when the estate went to his daughter, CATHERINE HENRIETTA ADAMINA DUNCAN MORISON.*

The ancient barony of Naughton, having been till 1650 in the parish of Forgan (as has been already stated), formed no part of the Abbey property :—Cathills, Kilburns, Scroggieside, Scurr, North Kirkton, Docheron, Bangove, Pitmossie, Easter Grange, &c., being comparatively recent additions to Naughton ; but all the estates of whose proprietors an account is given in the *remaining* chapters, were Abbey lands ; and their separate history begins about the time of the Reformation.

CHAPTER II.

THE LAIRDS OF BALMERINO.

“Let History tell, where rival kings command,
And dubious title shakes the maddened land,
When statutes glean the refuse of the sword,
How much more safe the vassal than the lord ;
Low sculks the hind beneath the rage of power,
And leaves the wealthy traitor in the Tower,
Untouched his cottage, and his slumbers sound,
Though Confiscation’s vultures hover round.”

JOHNSON.

§ 1. THE ELPHINSTONES, BARONS BALMERINO.

SIR JAMES ELPHINSTONE, parson of Innernochkie, was the third Fawfield. Mrs Morison left, besides, a sum of about L.45,000 to various connexions and friends.

† See Appendix, No. XXIV., § 6 ; and No. XXV., § 2.

son of the third Lord Elphinstone.* He spent much of his youth in France. In 1586 he was appointed a Lord of Session, by the designation of Lord Innernochtie, and in 1595 one of the eight Commissioners of the Treasury called, from their number, Octavians. In 1598 he was made Secretary of State, and the Abbacy of Balmerino was erected into a temporal lordship in his favour in 1603-4, as has been already stated.† In the same year he was nominated one of the Scottish Commissioners to treat of a Union then projected with England; and in 1605 was raised to the Presidency of the Court of Session. So high was the King's opinion of him, that he intended to make him English Secretary of State, when his career of preferment was suddenly stopped by the following circumstance.

In 1599 Lord Balmerino's cousin, Sir Edward Drummond, having mentioned to him that it would be easy to procure a Cardinal's hat for their mutual kinsman Chisholm,‡ bishop of Vaison, by obtaining a letter from King James to the Pope, to request the promotion of a Scotsman to the Cardinalate, in order that he might manage the correspondence betwixt the Courts of Rome and Edinburgh, Balmerino made this proposal to His Majesty, who, however, declined it. But his lordship took the unjustifiable step of drawing up a letter to the Pope in the King's name, requesting the favour he desired, and concluding with expressions of high regard for his Holiness and the Catholic religion. This letter he contrived to shuffle in amongst other papers lying for the signature of the King, who signed it in ignorance of its contents; and it was despatched to Rome. A copy of it having been sent from Italy to Queen Elizabeth by the

* These notices of the Balmerino family are compiled from Wood's Ed. of Douglas's Peerage, Wood's Hist. of Cramond Parish, Calderwood, Row, and other historians of the period.

† See page 141.

‡ Some authors call him Drummond.

Master of Gray, who acted there as her spy, she reproached King James with conduct so unworthy of a Protestant prince : but he professed to know nothing of it, and declared it to be a forgery of his enemies. Lord Balmerino also denied all knowledge of it, and the affair soon seemed to be forgotten. But King James having, a few years after his accession to the English throne, written a book against the Pope and Cardinal Bellarmine, the latter taunted His Majesty with having abandoned his former favourable opinion of the Roman Catholic religion, as expressed in his letter to the Pope. The King now saw that the matter could not be passed over without inquiry, and sent for Balmerino, without telling him the reason. His lordship arrived at Royston, where the court then was, in October 1608, and, when examined, confessed the whole affair, but declared his only motive had been to pave the way for James's accession to the English throne, by an act which would gratify the Roman Catholics. The English Privy Council, however, took a different view of the matter, and even imputed the Gunpowder Plot to the rage of the Papists on their finding the hopes frustrated, which this letter inspired.

But according to Lord Balmerino's own account of this affair, as given in a narrative written by him, King James was not averse to a correspondence with the Pope, but only scrupled to concede his apostolical titles, which were afterwards prefixed to a letter presented with despatches for different Cardinals, and subscribed without hesitation by the King. And when public attention was directed to the matter, Balmerino was induced, by promises of his life and estates, to conceal some circumstances of the transaction, and to falsify others, so as to draw a veil over his master's conduct. Thus he suffered for what many believed to have been as much the King's act as his own.

Being sent to Scotland under guard, when he arrived at Berwick he was heard to say, "I wish I had been made a

sheep keeper when I was made a scholar." He was imprisoned at Falkland, and being afterwards tried in the town-hall of St Andrews, was found guilty of treason. The King confirmed the sentence, and on the 1st of March 1609, he was condemned to be beheaded as a traitor. The same day he was conveyed to Falkland, but was still allowed to carry his sword. The capital sentence was, however, not executed; and in October 1609, there was granted to him liberty of free ward in Falkland, and one mile round it, on his finding security in the sum of £40,000 not to transgress these bounds. In 1610 he received warrant under the King's hand, giving him full assurance of his life, and was allowed to retire to his own houses—or what had been such—in Angus and at Balmerino, at which latter place he died in 1612* "of a fever and waicknes in his stomache," according to Sir James Balfour of Denmiln; or, according to others, of a broken heart, or something worse.

"With age, with cares, with maladies oppressed,
He seeks the refuge of monastic rest.
Grief aids disease, remembered folly stings,
And his last sighs reproach the faith of kings."†

* Calderwood says that Lord Balmerino died about the end of May. But a stone, taken from Balmerino, and now built into the wall of a house in the village of Gauldry, probably records his death as having taken place on the 21st of June. This stone, which is beautifully carved, but now much injured, bears on its upper part a helmet, having round it a motto, of which the only letters that are legible are the first and last—"EX OVA." The lower part of the stone appears to have contained a shield, on the right side of which are the letters "L.—I. B." (which may stand for Lord James Balmerino), and on the left side—"21 June 1612." We may add that we know of no other person of *eminence* belonging to the Parish, or whose name had these initials, who died about that time. This stone (which is only about a foot square), or a larger one of which it formed a part, was probably placed over Lord Balmerino's grave, the site of which is, however, now unknown.

† "Sir John Scot of Scotstarvit, with his accustomed malignity,

Lord Balmerino was undoubtedly the ablest Scottish statesman of his time. Spottiswoode characterizes him, however, as one "that made small conscience of his doings, and measured all things by the gain he made by them. The possessions he acquired of the Church kept him still an enemy to it, for he feared a restitution should be made of those livings, if ever the clergy did attain unto credit." James Melville, in his Diary, calls him the "King's special agent against the ministers." He acquired extensive property in several counties, and was patron of no fewer than twenty-three churches.

In October 1609, SIR ALEXANDER DRUMMOND of Meidhope, one of the Senators of the College of Justice, and a relative of Lord Balmerino, received a gift, under the Privy Seal, of the liferent escheat and forfeiture of his lordship, which gift was confirmed in September 1612. In June 1613, we find Sir Alexander, as feudal superior, granting a charter to Robert Auchmouty of certain lands in the parish of Balmerino.

JOHN, second LORD BALMERINO, eldest son of the first Lord, was restored in blood and to the peerage in August 1613, his father having died under attainder. In September 1614, he obtained from King James a charter under the Great Seal, conferring upon him a new gift of his father's estates, and proceeding upon the resignation of Sir Alexander Drummond.

Lord Balmerino became distinguished by his opposition to the measures of the government. In 1633, Charles II being then in Scotland, some members of Parliament resolved to present to His Majesty a petition for redress of grievances ;

says that his lordship's death was occasioned by an amatorious potion of cantharides, administered by a maid in his house, called Young, afterwards married to Dr Honeyman ; but others, with a higher degree of charity, attribute it to his taking to heart the great disgrace and ignominy under which he was lying."—(Wood's "History of the Parish of Cramond," p. 270.)

especially against two Acts, one extending the King's prerogative over causes spiritual as well as temporal, and the other ratifying the Episcopal government and worship of the Church. Being desirous, however, that the King should be made acquainted with the petition before it was formally presented, the subscribers entrusted it to the Earl of Rothes, who showed it to His Majesty. Having read the petition, the King restored it to Rothes, saying—in the true spirit of the Stuarts—"No more of this, my Lord, I command you;" whereupon the matter was allowed to rest.

Sometime after this, Lord Balmerino, who had drawn up the petition, and had kept a copy of it, happened to show it, in course of conversation on the corruptions of Church and State, to John Denmure, a writer in Dundee, and his own confidential agent, while the latter was on a visit to his lordship in his house of Barnton. Contrary to Balmerino's injunctions, and without his knowledge, Denmure took a copy of the document, and carried it home with him.* "The said Mr John (says Bishop Guthrie in his 'Memoirs') happening, in his journey homeward, to lodge at the house of Mr Peter Hay of Nachton [author of the 'Vision of Balaams Asse,' &c.], fell to speak with him upon that subject, and to reckon up the corruptions of the times, whereupon Nachton replied, Where have ye learned, Mr John, to speak so well in State affairs? Doubtless you have been with your patron Balmarinoch; To whom Mr John answered, You have guessed it; Balmarinoch is indeed my informer, and, moreover, showed me a petition, whereby he and his associates intended to have complained to the King, but he would not hear it; and I have in my pocket a copy of the petition. Nachton, carrying no good will to Balmarinoch,

* There are several versions of this event in the histories of the period.

and withal being very Episcopal, found the way to get the petition from Mr John, and, some days after he was gone, went to the Archbishop of St Andrews, and delivered the copy to him, with an account of the discourse which had passed betwixt Mr John and him in reference thereunto. Whereupon the Archbishop found himself obliged to acquaint the King therewith." Burnet says that the Archbishop, who appears to have imagined that the petition was going about for subscription, "began his journey to London, as he often did, on a Sunday, which was a very serious thing in that country."

In consequence of this affair, Lord Balmerino was examined before the Privy Council in June 1634, and was confined in Edinburgh Castle till the 30th of March 1635, when he was tried by a jury, and, being convicted by a majority of only one, had sentence of death pronounced upon him. A great effect was produced on the minds of the jurymen by the speech of one of them, Gordon of Buckie, then an old man, who, forty years before, had been concerned in the death of the Earl of Moray. "He besought them to consider that the life of a fellow-creature was at stake, and, with tears streaming down his aged countenance, warned them, from his own melancholy experience, that if, contrary to conscience, they condemned the pannel, they might, as he had done, obtain the pardon of their sovereign, but they would find how difficult it was to procure the pardon of God."*

Lord Balmerino's cause was now warmly espoused by the people, who threatened either to rescue him, or to put to death the judges and jurors who had condemned him, and to burn their houses. The King reluctantly yielded to these menaces, and, after an imprisonment of more than thirteen months, Lord Balmerino was, on the 16th of July, set at liberty to the extent of being confined only to Balmerino, and six

* Cook's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, II., 352.

miles around it. In November, following, he obtained entire freedom. This unjustifiable prosecution was ruinous to the King's interest in Scotland, and had the effect of uniting most of the nobility against him.*

After this, his Lordship continued to oppose the measures of the Court, and became the leader of the Church party, or Covenanters. For this course Charles I. in his "Large Declaration" upbraided him severely, recounting the many favours he and his father had received from His Majesty and King James. Balmerino also supported the Covenanters liberally with money, to the great injury of his own fortunes. To give a full account of his career would be to transcribe much of the history of that exciting period. It may be mentioned, however, that he was one of those who got up the opposition which the King's attempt to introduce Laud's Service Book met with in 1637, when that famous heroine, Janet Geddes, threw her stool at the head of the officiating clergyman, thus commencing the train of events which culminated in the execution of Charles I. The Covenant of 1638 bears the signature of Balmerino. He was very popular in Edinburgh, and continued to lead the Church party till his death. He was, of course, equally unpopular with the opposite party. In a satire written in the form of a Litany, ascribed to Thomas Forrester (who had been Episcopal Minister at Melrose, but had been deposed a short time previous to its composition), and relating to public affairs in 1638-9, the following lines occur :—

"From all who swear themselves meisworn,
From Louthian, Loudone, Lindsay, Lorne,
Princes Rothes and Balmerino,
And devoute Lordlings many moe—
Who lead the dance and rule the roast,

* Pitcairn, in his "Criminal Trials," gives a full account of this affair; as, indeed, most of the historians of the period do.

And forceth us to make the cost.
From such mad freaks of Catharus
Almighty God deliver us.”*

In 1641 Lord Balmerino was chosen President of Parliament, and he received many dignities besides. It is told to his credit, that, suspecting his father had made a too advantageous purchase of the lands of Balumby in Forfarshire, he, of his own accord, gave 10,000 merks to the heir of that estate, by way of composition.

The principal country residence of the Balmerino family at this time appears to have been at Barnton, in the parish of Cramond. Their town residence was a house in Leith, east of Coatfield Lane, in the Kirkgate, which the second Lord acquired from the Earl of Carrick in 1643, and which continued to be occupied by the family till the attainder of the last Lord. This house is still in existence, presenting a handsome front to the south; but it is now occupied by the poorest class of tenants.

Lord Balmerino died of apoplexy on the 1st of March 1649, at three o'clock in the morning, after having supped with the Marquis of Argyle. He was buried in the old church of Restalrig, but his remains were disinterred in the following year by Cromwell's soldiers, while they were searching for leaden coffins as material for making bullets, and thrown into the streets. His name is included amongst Walpole's "Royal and Noble Authors," Lord Balmerino's speech on the army, describing their conspiracy, having been published in 1642, in quarto. The Denmiln MS. contains the following verses to his memory:—

“Here lyes Balmerinock, and may his fate
Bring tears without a presage to the staite,
Quher he the day-star was; his course is rune,
And now he sets, alas! after our sune;

* Wade's History of Melrose Abbey, p. 870.

. O ! episicle strange. Phosphor our light
Led one, and turns the hesper of our night."

The Abbacy of Balmerino was not the only Church property conferred on the fortunate family of the Elphinstones. In 1607 the lands of the Cistercian Abbey of Cupar (Angus), previously held by Lord Burghley, were erected into a temporal lordship in favour of James Elphinstone, younger son of the first Lord Balmerino, who accordingly took his seat in Parliament as Lord Coupar. On the death of his brother, the second Lord Balmerino, Lord Coupar was appointed to an extraordinary Lordship of Session which the former had held, a dignity which his own talents seem scarcely to have merited. Sir James Balfour of Denmiln thus gives his opinion of the appointment. "The Lord Balmerinoch's extraordinary place of the Sessione, they have bestowed it one his brother, the Lord Couper, quhouse head will not fill his brother's hate." The Denmiln MS. contains the following epigram on him :—

"Fy upon death !
He's worse than a trouper,
That took from us Balmerinoch,
And left that howlit Couper."

Lord Coupar, however, held several offices of importance. He was fined £3000 Scots by Cromwell in 1654 ; and after the Restoration, he was fined £4,800 Scots for non-conformity to Episcopacy. He died without issue in 1669, when his estates and honours devolved upon Lord Balmerino.

JOHN, third LORD BALMERINO, and son of the second Lord, on his succession found that, by his father's liberality to the Covenanters, his means were greatly curtailed ; and a litigation with his cousin the Countess of Bedford respecting his uncle Lord Coupar's inheritance, together with other law-suits, rendered him still poorer, so that he was obliged to

sell much of his property. For non-conformity to Episcopacy he was fined, in 1662, £6000 Scots. Yet he had in 1650 received Charles II at his mansion in Leith, when the King landed there. He died in 1704, aged 82, and was buried at Restalrig.

JOHN, fourth LORD BALMERINO, was in his fifty-second year when he succeeded his father. He also was very poor, but he filled several offices of distinction. In 1710 and 1713 he was elected one of the sixteen Representative Peers for Scotland. He had strenuously opposed the Union with England. Like his fathers, he was at length involved in misfortune. On the accession of George I. he was removed from all his offices, and was no longer returned to Parliament. He nevertheless continued faithful to the House of Hanover during the rebellion of 1715. The rest of his days were spent in retirement, and he died at his house in Leith in 1736, and was buried at Restalrig. He was succeeded by his eldest surviving son.

In 1730 Alexander Elphinstone, fourth son of the fourth Lord Balmerino, challenged a Lieut. Swift to fight a duel, which took place on the Links of Leith. Swift was wounded, and soon afterwards died in consequence. Elphinstone was indicted for this, but the charge seems to have been eventually abandoned.

JAMES, fifth LORD BALMERINO, being a younger son, and having at first no hope of succeeding to the family estates, applied himself to the study of the law, was called to the bar in 1703, and had a large practice. In 1714 he was raised to the bench, and took his seat as Lord Coupar. After his accession to the title of Lord Balmerino by his father's death in 1736—his eldest brother Hugh having been killed at the siege of Lisle in 1708—he continued to occupy his place as a judge, in which he gave the greatest satisfaction, and died at Leith on the 5th of January 1746, without issue.

ARTHUR, sixth and last LORD BALMERINO, was born in 1688. Having entered the army during the reign of Queen Anne, he held a captain's commission. On the accession of George I., though his father continued in his allegiance, Arthur resigned his commission, joined the Earl of Mar, but bringing none with him except his own servants; and was engaged at the battle of Sheriffmuir. Having made his escape to France, he entered the French service, in which he continued till the death of his younger brother Alexander in 1733, when his father, being desirous that his son should return to Scotland, obtained his pardon. Of this, however, he did not avail himself till he had asked the Chevalier's consent, who not only granted it, but also supplied him with money for his journey homewards. He arrived in Scotland in 1735 after twenty years' absence. In 1745 he joined the Pretender at Holyrood,* after the battle of Prestonpans, and

* It was, apparently, just before taking this step that he was in hiding for six weeks in a house at Balmerino, which was occupied by a respectable old woman named Christian Berry, widow of John Boyter, whose descendants are still living in the Parish. This house, to which a brew-stead was attached, stood west from the present farm-house, and was demolished only a few years ago. Lord Balmerino (then the Hon. Arthur Elphinstone) lived in the "best room" of the house, and was considered by his hostess as one very easily pleased with such attendance as she could give. He staked out the site of a new house, which he promised to build for her if events should go well with him, and which (he said) should be the best house in the place after his own. Her son accompanied him on his departure, and was with him at Culloden as his servant. When Lord Balmerino was afterwards condemned to death, Christian Berry had thoughts of going all the way to London to beg his pardon from the King, but rightly judged that such a step on her part would be of no avail.

It may be here mentioned that Lord Balmerino had a house (which is still standing) in "Balmerino place," Cupar-Fife. A sheriff-officer in that town was imprisoned six months for being a witness to his Lordship proclaiming the Pretender at the Cross of Cupar.

served throughout the campaign as Colonel of the second troop of Life Guards. In January 1746 he succeeded to the title of Balmerino, by the death of his half-brother, the fifth Lord. At the battle of Culloden, which was fought on the 16th of April following, he was taken prisoner, though it is said he might have made his escape four days after. At his trial he employed no counsel, and disdained to sue for pardon. Being found guilty, he was condemned to death, along with the Earls of Mar and Cromarty, on the 1st of August 1746. Cromarty was pardoned, but the other two were beheaded on Towerhill on the 18th of August of that year.

Balmerino displayed great firmness at the closing scene. At a parting interview with Kilmarnock, before their removal to the place of execution, he said to that nobleman, "My dear Lord, I wish I could alone pay the reckoning, and suffer for us both." During the execution of Kilmarnock, Lord Balmerino, being kept in an apartment near the scaffold, conversed freely with his friends, twice refreshed himself with a bit of bread and a glass of wine, and desired the company to drink to him "ane degree ta haiven." He also prayed frequently, and appeared ready and willing to die. Upon the sheriff's coming into the apartment, he said, "I suppose Kilmarnock is no more;" and having asked how the executioner performed his duty, upon receiving the account, added, "Then it was well done, and now, gentlemen, I will detain you no longer, for I desire not to protract my life." Having saluted the company in such a manner as drew tears from every eye, he proceeded to the scaffold. His last moments are thus graphically described by Dr Robert Chambers, in his "History of the Rebellion:"—"The appearance of Balmerino upon this fatal stage produced a very different sensation among the spectators from that occasioned by Kilmarnock. His firm step, his bold bluff figure, and, above all, his dress, the same regimental suit of blue, turned up with red, which he had worn throughout

the late campaign,* excited breathless admiration rather than any emotion of pity, and made the crowd regard him as a being of a superior nature. Walking round the scaffold, he bowed to the people, and inspected the inscription on the coffin, which he declared to be correct. He also asked which was his hearse, and ordered the man to drive near. Then looking with an air of satisfaction on the block, which he designated as his 'pillow of rest,' he took out a paper, and putting on his spectacles, read it to the few about him. It contained a declaration of his unshaken adherence to the house of Stewart, and of his regret for ever having served in the armies of his enemies, Queen Anne, and George I., which he considered the only faults of his life deserving his present fate. Finally, he called for the executioner, who immediately appeared, and was about to ask his forgiveness, when Balmerino stopped him by saying, 'Friend, you need not ask forgiveness; the execution of your duty is commendable.' Presenting him with three guineas, he added, 'Friend, I never had much money: this is all I now have. I wish it was more for your sake, and I am sorry I can add nothing to it, but my coat and waistcoat.' He took off these garments, and laid them upon his coffin for the executioner. In his immediate preparation for death, this singular man displayed the same wonderful degree of coolness and intrepidity. Having put on a flannel vest which had been made on purpose, with a cap of tartan, to denote, he said, that he died a Scotsman, he went to the block, and kneeling down, went through a sort of rehearsal of the execution for the instruction of the executioner, showing him how he should give the blow by dropping his arms. He then returned to his friends, took a tender farewell, and looking round upon the crowd, said, 'I am afraid there are some who may think my behaviour bold, but (addressing a gentleman near him)

* Kilmarnock had been dressed in black.

remember, Sir, what I tell you : it arises from a confidence in God, and a clear conscience.' At this moment he observed the executioner with the axe, and going up to him, he took the fatal weapon into his own hand, and felt its edge. On returning it, he showed the man where to strike his neck, and animated him to do it with vigour and resolution, adding, 'for in that, friend, will consist your mercy.' With a countenance of the utmost cheerfulness, he then knelt down at the block, and uttering the following words, 'O Lord! reward my friends, forgive my enemies, bless [and restore the King, preserve] the Prince and the Duke, and receive my soul,' dropped his arms for the blow."

The house in front of which the scaffold was erected still exists, marked as No. 14, Tower Hill. The mutilated bodies of the two Lords, after being deposited in their respective coffins, are said to have been brought back into the house, and in proof of this, a trail of blood is still visible along the hall, and up the first flight of stairs. There is a contemporary print of the execution, representing the scaffold as surrounded by a wide square of dragoons, beyond which are great multitudes of people, many of them seated in wooden galleries. The decapitated Lords were respectfully buried in St Peter's Chapel within the Tower. Their coffin plates, as well as that of Lord Lovat, who was executed in 1747, are still (1866) shown there. Lord Balmerino's plate bears, "Arthurus Dominus de Balmerino decollatus 18^o Augusti 1746, Aetatis Suae 58," with a baron's coronet. Lord Campbell observes, in his "Lives of the Chancellors," that from Lord Balmerino Sir Walter Scott took the exit of Fergus M'Ivor.*

Lord Balmerino married Margaret Chalmers, a daughter of Captain Chalmers at Leith, who survived till the 26th of August 1765. The following letter was written by her to

* Chambers's "Book of Days," II., p. 233

her sister Mrs Borthwick the day after her husband's execution :—

“Dear Sister—This comes from a soer heart. Yesterday my dear lord Balmerino and lord Kilmarnock was beheaded, after which they war buried in the Tower. After that my lord Balmerino's friends came to me, and told me that my greif was very jost, for that day I was the widow to the greatest man on earth, for which it gives me grat eias'[ease] to hear he dyed with so much coruge. I am to go from thas to the owther end of the Tower, hiveing no mo day near the Tower. I shall let you when I go thear. I have found thear your blasing to all frinds. I am [your] soerful sister,

Margaret Balmer [ino]

“London, August 19th, 1746*.”

Thus perished the last heir-male of a family which had experienced so many vicissitudes, three of the six persons who held the title of Lord Balmerino having been condemned to death, though only in the case of the last of them was the sentence carried into execution.

The sixth Lord Balmerino's mother was the daughter of Dr Arthur Ross, the last Archbishop of St Andrews ; and that nobleman himself was an Episcopalian. “Arthur Lord Balmerinock, his grandson and nameson (wrote a venerable Jacobite lady, a descendant of the Archbishop, to the late Rev. C. J. Lyon of St Andrews), had undertaken to be the biographer of his Grace, and had collected all the best materials for the purpose, viz. :—letters from the Prince of Orange, from the King of France, from Prince James, the Bishops of England and Ireland ; in short, all the great names of the day ; and was busied with a talented scholar at this work, when the ill-fated hero of Culloden cast him-

* “Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland,” vol. IV., p. 296.

self into Scotland. So very deeply was the loss of Arthur of Balmerinoch felt by the whole connexion—for he was truly amiable—that the half-finished work was hushed up in the awful and almost unjust catastrophe which severed his warm heart from our widely-lamenting family ; and thus his very purpose was quenched in his blood, and was a subject never touched on, unless mentioned as one of his last employments by those now passed from this life themselves, but whom I remember to have seen drink to his memory on the anniversary of his birth-day, with much affectionate respect.”*

§ 2. THE EARLS OF MORAY, AND STUARTS, OF BALMERINO.

In the New Statistical Account it is stated that the estate of Lord Balmerino in this Parish passed, after its forfeiture to the Crown, into the hands of the York Buildings Company, from which it was afterwards purchased by the EARL OF MORAY. The first portion of this statement is, however, erroneous. The York Buildings Company, which was incorporated by royal charter in 1690, for the purpose of raising the water in York Buildings to supply the inhabitants of London, had, it is true, its objects extended in 1719, and its capital increased, for the purchase of the forfeited estates, and for granting annuities and life assurances. But in 1732 the Company was declared insolvent, and its estates were given over to trustees for behoof of annuitants, who held them till 1764, when they were exposed to sale at Edinburgh, and were purchased by most of the disinherited families. It is not probable that the estates forfeited in 1746 were

* Lyon's History of St Andrews, vol. II., p. 113. See also Appendix, No. XXIV, § 12.

acquired by the Company. It is at least certain that the estate of Balmerino was held by the Barons of Exchequer till 1755, when it was purchased by James, seventh Earl of Moray, nephew of the two last Lords Balmerino. The purchase money was £2330.*

The Earls of Moray are descended, in two distinct lines, from the royal house of Stewart. James Stewart, Prior of St Andrews, who acted a conspicuous part in the Scottish Reformation, and was afterwards Regent of Scotland (called "The Good Regent")—being a natural son of James V, and half-brother of Queen Mary—was created Earl of Murray in 1561-2.† Dying without male issue, he was succeeded by his daughter Elizabeth. She married Sir James Stewart, second Lord Down, who, in right of his wife, assumed the title of Earl of Murray, and was the subject of the old ballad, "The Bonny Earl of Murray." Their son obtained a new grant of the earldom to himself and his heirs-male. Through his father he was also lineally descended from King Robert II. He was the ancestor of the subsequent Earls of Moray—as the name is now spelt. James, the seventh Earl, died in 1767, and Francis, the eighth Earl, in 1810, when the estate of Balmerino went to the second surviving son of the latter—the Honourable ARCHIBALD STUART. On his death in 1832, he was succeeded by his eldest son, FRANCIS ARCHIBALD STUART, the present proprietor of Balmerino.‡

* The Abbey lands of Cupar (Angus), now possessed by Mr Stuart of Balmerino, were probably acquired by Lord Moray at the same time as the estate of Balmerino.

† The earldom of Murray had previously been held by Randolph, nephew of Robert Bruce, and his descendants, and also by a son of James IV, but had afterwards reverted to the Crown.

‡ See Appendix, No. XXIV. § 13; and No. XXV. § 1.

CHAPTER III.

THE CRICHTONS OF BOTTOMCRAIG.

"Saddled and bridled
And bootied rade he;
Toom* hame cam the saddle,
But never cam he!"

BALLAD OF "BONNIE GEORGE CAMPBELL."

THOMAS CRICHTON, a younger son of James Crichton of Cranston-Riddel, acquired, probably before the year 1614, the third-part lands of Bottomcraig; and in 1617 he acquired the two-part lands of Bottomcraig and Drumcharry, together with other eight acres in Bottomcraig, and the west half of Boghall and yard thereof.

Crichton did not long enjoy his property. There is a tradition still current in the Parish that he had a feud with the Laird of Kirkton (whose name, though not preserved by tradition, must have been George Ramsay, who then possessed Kirkton), and that, as he was one day travelling on horseback to Cupar, the Laird of Kirkton happened to be returning in the opposite direction towards Balmerino, and they encountered each other near Myre-Cairney. Crichton's servant had been the first to recognize the enemy, but he could not persuade his master to get out of his way. While yet at some distance from each other, the two Lairds drew their swords, and, spurring on their horses, commenced a fierce combat, in which Crichton was slain. The Laird of Kirkton, hastening home, slept that night, it is said, in his cattle-yard, and was never more heard of; having, doubtless,

* Empty.

fled for his life.* This tradition was rather curiously illustrated by the discovery, in 1840, of an old tombstone in the Parish Church of Cupar. Whilst some alterations were being made in the interior of that edifice, part of the floor was taken up, and a large slab, when raised, was found to be richly carved on the side which had been turned down. On being cleaned and examined, it was found to be Crichton's tombstone; the inscription around the stone being as follows:—"Heir lyes byried ane honourable man, Thomas Crichtone of Bodamcraig, sone to vmvhail Thames Chrichtone of Chranstone-riddell, who decessed the 3rd day† of February, the year of God 1619, being aged 44 years." The stone has also Crichton's arms emblazoned on the centre, and those of four families on the father's, and four on the mother's side, around the stone, showing his claim, in the language of the heralds, to have been a gentleman of four descents.‡ This stone is at present standing against the east gable of Cupar Parish Church. The fact of Crichton's being interred there is, no doubt, to be ascribed to his having been killed in the vicinity of Cupar. The accusation brought against Mr Thomas Douglas, minister of Balmerino, of having been accessory to this murder has been already noticed.§

Thomas Crichton's wife, Jean Canneolie, or Carmelie—as her name is sometimes written—possessed the barony of Gairdin in Forfarshire. She did not long survive her husband, and their daughter ELIZABETH was served heir-

* The house in which Ramsay is said to have lived—a white two-storied house—at Upper, or South Kirkton, was standing about 60 years ago.

† Pitcairn ("Criminal Trials") gives it as the 13th of February.

‡ Swan and Leighton's "Fife illustrated." The arms are partly obliterated, but on the right side of the stone may be deciphered those of Crichton and Corstorphine; and on the left, those of Scott of Buccleugh, Bethune of Creich, Horsbrugh, and Hay of Errol. The arms of Crichton of Cranston are in the centre.

§ See page 188.

general to both her parents on the 9th of October 1619. The latter also dying soon afterwards, her uncle, SIR JAMES CRICHTON, BART., was served heir-general to her on the 1st of March 1620, and about the same time he got sasine of the lands in which his brother Thomas had died infeft. The barony of Gairdin went to Margaret Canneolie, sister of Thomas Crichton's wife, married to Sir John Scott of Newburgh, who was served heir to that property on the 20th of May 1620. Sir James Crichton kept possession of his brother's lands only for a few years.*

The House of Bottomcraig was built by Thomas Crichton, or, as some say, by him and his brother, but was scarcely finished before the death of the former. It is doubtful whether Sir James ever inhabited it, though tradition asserts that he did for a short time. It was, no doubt, more or less used as a residence by the subsequent Lairds of Bottomcraig down to 1682. In that year Lord Balmerino gave this house, with garden and lands adjoining—to the extent of from eight to nine acres Scotch—for a Manse and glebe to the minister, in exchange for the former Manse and glebe at Balmerino; and they continued to be so used till 1815. The house was one of three stories, and the garden was surrounded with a good wall. They were situated in that part of the present arable glebe still called the Old Manse Park. The Manse, offices, and garden wall underwent extensive repairs in 1756, and again in 1774. The old picture in Naughton House, which represents the front view of the Castle of Naughton as it stood in 1760, contains also a view of the old Manse. The date of its original erection—1618—and the initials either of the two brothers Crichton, or, more probably, those of Thomas Crichton and his wife—T. I. C.—are still to be seen on a stone which formed the apex of one of the storm windows in its roof, and which was inserted in the back wall of

* Thomson's Abbreviate of Retours. Balmerino Writs.

the present Manse offices, when they were erected in 1815.*

CHAPTER IV.

THE STARKS OF BALLINDEAN.†

“Blest he, who dwells secure
Where man, by nature fierce, has laid aside
His fierceness, having learnt, though slow to learn,
The manners and the arts of civil life.”

COWPER.

THE STARKS of Ballindean are, according to the tradition of the family, descended from the Robertsons of Struan, chiefs of the Clan Duncan or Robertson. Alexander Duncan of Struan, who died in 1506, was the first who assumed the name of Robertson, the family name having been previously Duncan. Paul Robertson, a younger son of this chief, having rashly taken part in some feuds then raging between his family and the Earl of Athol, and having been guilty of manslaughter—an occurrence by no means rare in those turbulent times—fled to the Lowlands, and, for greater security, changed his name to Paul Stirk, or Stark, as it afterwards came to be spelt. He settled in the county of Fife, between which and Rannoch there was in those days little or no intercourse.

In 1532 we find Alison Ramsay, relict of Andrew Jackson,

* See Appendix, No. XXIV, § 15.

† The following account of the Starks is compiled from family papers in the possession of Thomas Stark Christie, Esq. of Ballindean.

PAUL STIRK, Marion Jackson his spouse, with their subtenants, obtaining from the Abbot and Convent of Balmerino a joint-tack of the lands of Ballindean (then extending to 12 acres arable), 3 acres of Docherone, and 2 acres of Boddamcraig, for 19 years; which tack was renewed to Paul Stirk, his wife, and sons in 1539. In the same year they acquired from the Abbot and Convent a feu-charter of these lands, which charter was ratified by the Penitentiary of Pope Paul III. in 1540. The property thus acquired, with considerable additions made to it from time to time (including the adjoining property of Newbigging, situated in the parish of Kilmanny), has been possessed by the family down to the present day, with, perhaps, an exception of three years in the early part of the seventeenth century.

In confirmation of the tradition that Paul Stirk's name was originally Robertson, it may be mentioned that Alexander Robertson, Laird of Struan, who acquired some reputation in his day as a poet, and died in 1745, was in the habit of coming down to Fife, to visit the Laird of Ballindean as his relation; and that John Stark Robertson of Ballindean (noticed below) had in his possession the brace of long pistols and broadsword which were employed by his ancestor, Paul Robertson, in his unfortunate encounter. They had, down to that time, been carefully preserved as relics in the family, and transmitted from father to son.

In 1569 Paul Stirk resigned his lands in favour of his eldest son GEORGE, reserving his own liferent.

In 1607 George Stirk resigned his lands in favour of David Beattie in Karsmyre, who in 1610 again resigned them in favour of GEORGE, son of the preceding George Stirk. In 1644 GEORGE STIRK, the third Laird of that name, was infeft in the property as heir to his father George, and in 1674 he resigned his lands in favour of his second son THOMAS, his eldest son having died previously. In 1686 Thomas Stark resigned his property in favour of his eldest son JOHN, who

became minister of Logie-Murdoch in 1700, and, dying in 1748, was succeeded in the property by his eldest son THOMAS, minister of Balmerino. On his death in 1772, Thomas Stark was succeeded by his eldest son JOHN, both as Laird of Ballindean and minister of Balmerino.*

John Stark, having demitted his cure in 1781, soon afterwards removed to Bath, where, having assumed the name of JOHN STARK ROBERTSON, and obtained the degree of Doctor of Medicine, he practised as a physician. In 1790 he married Susannah, only daughter of Major-General Reid, who, by his will, left a large sum of money for the endowment of a Professorship of Music, and other objects, in the University of Edinburgh. The capital sum of this splendid bequest had in the year 1855 grown to £61,401. Dr John Stark Robertson, having died about the year 1810, without issue, was succeeded in the possession of Ballindean, Newbigging, &c., by his widow, who usually lived in Paris, and died there in 1838. The property then passed to three co-heiresses, daughters of James Stark of Kingsdale, next younger brother of Dr John Stark Robertson. These ladies afterwards became heiress-portioners of Teasses also, by the death of their cousin, Thomas Stark of Teasses. The eldest, Miss MARY BUTLER STARK, having married Robert Christie, of the family of Christie of Durie, (who assumed the name of Robert Stark Christie), the co-heiresses disposed their lands of Ballindean, Newbigging, and their pertinents, to Trustees under that marriage contract; and on Mrs Robert Stark Christie's death in 1861, the lands at Bottomcraig went to her eldest son, JAMES HENRY ROBERTSON STARK CHRISTIE, now of Teasses, who sold them in 1864 to Miss Morison of Naughton; while the lands of Ballindean and Newbigging passed to her youngest son, THOMAS STARK CHRISTIE, the present proprietor; whose family has thus been connected

* See pp. 241-244.

with the Parish of Balmerino for a longer period than any now resident in it, so far as can be traced.*

CHAPTER V.

THE BALFOURS OF GRANGE

“As for this cardinal, I grant
He was the man we might well want,
God will forgive it soon :
But of a truth, the sooth to say,
Although the loon be well away,
The fact was foully done.”

SIR DAVID LINDSAY OF THE MOUNT.

THE “Grange of Balmerino” denoted the farm-buildings to which the produce required for the use of the monastery was brought, and from which most of the Abbey lands forming the southern division of the Parish, and including, apparently, Ballindean, were cultivated before the Reformation. When that event drew near, these, like most of the other lands of the Abbey, were feued to the tenants who held them, and to others. Soon after the Reformation, we meet with notices of the New Grange, which was beside the present farmhouse of that name; the site of the Old Grange being unknown. We have seen that as early as 1539 the lands of Ballindean had been feued to Paul Stirk.

It has been already stated that a family of RAMSAYS possessed, in the latter portion, if not in the middle, of the sixteenth century, the *eastern* half of the remaining lands of Newgrange, including the half of ‘Cleikumsleuch (or

* See Appendix, No. XXIV., § 16; and No. XXV., § 3.

Clerkannyscleuch), of Battlelaw, of Outfields of Byres, and other portions. These lands were successively held by David Ramsay, who died before 1572, and by his son James Ramsay of Corston. The latter, dying before 1603, was in that year followed in the possession of the property by his son, James Ramsay of Corston. James Ramsay, who possessed the Mains of Naughton for a few years, and also the Ramsays of Kirkton, and of Bottomcraig, were probably of this family. We have seen that PETER HAY of Naughton purchased the lands of East Grange, &c., between 1620 and 1622.

Of the *western* half of Newgrange, Cleikumscleuch, Battlelaw, Crossfaulds, Outfields of Byres,* and other minute portions, the first proprietors we meet with are ANDREW WILSON, ROBERT and ALEXANDER COCKBURN, who possessed, perhaps before the Reformation, separate divisions of these lands. Before 1569 these, and perhaps other portions, amounting to three-fourths of West Grange, &c., were acquired by DAVID BALFOUR of Balbuthy, who in that year resigned them into the hands of the Commendator of Balmerino for a new charter of them, which charter was confirmed under the Great Seal in 1572.

This charter makes mention of a "principal House or Hall (*aula*)" as belonging to that portion of the lands of Grange formerly possessed by Robert Cockburn, and as afterwards occupied by David Balfour. The description seems to indicate a house of some pretension, which was probably built in monastic times as a residence for the Prior, or other member of the Convent who, no doubt, superintended the Grange. This continued to be the mansion-house of the Balfours, and is specified in a charter as late as 1686. Only a few years ago an old granary was demolished there, which,

* Cleikumscleuch and Battlelaw together extended to four ox-gates of land; Outfields of Byres to eight oxgates.

judging from the superior style of its masonry, may have formed part of the buildings of the ancient Grange of the Abbey.

The above-mentioned David Balfour of Balbuthy, afterwards Laird of Grange, was the third son of Andrew Balfour of Mountquhanie, head of the ancient family of Balfour, which is now represented by David Balfour, Esq., of Balfour and Trenaby in Orkney.* David Balfour of Balbuthy was an accomplice in the murder of Cardinal Bethune, on the 29th of May 1546. According to another account, however, he, with his brothers James and Gilbert Balfour, joined Norman Leslie and the other conspirators in the Castle of St Andrews, after the Cardinal's murder had been perpetrated. On the surrender of the Castle to the French, in the summer of 1547, the Balfours, with the rest of the besieged, including John Knox, were put on board the French galleys, and carried to France. They arrived first at Fecamp, a sea-port of Normandy; they then sailed up the river Seine, and lay before Rouen, where the chief men were landed, and dispersed in various prisons. The others, including the three Balfours ("men without God" Knox calls them), were left in the galleys, and treated with great cruelty. "Then (says Knox) was the joy of the Papists, both of Scotland and France, in full perfection; for this was their song of triumph :—

"Priests, content you now; priests, content you now,
For Norman and his company has filled the galleys fow."

From Rouen the galleys departed to Nantes in Brittany, where they lay on the river Loire the whole winter, the prisoners working at the same time as galley-slaves, and Knox being one of their number. They refused, however,

* The author has to acknowledge the courtesy of Mr Balfour in communicating to him much of this information regarding the family of Grange.

to give reverence to the Mass, though threatened with torments unless they consented to do so. When the galleys returned to Scotland, and were lying betwixt Dundee and St Andrews, John Knox, James Balfour, and, apparently, David and Gilbert his brothers, were in the same galley. This was about the month of June 1548. In the following winter Knox and the three Balfours were liberated. The latter, together with the other conspirators who had held St Andrews Castle, had been forfeited for treason on the 13th August 1546. In 1567 David Balfour had his sentence annulled.

James Balfour, above mentioned, was the "parson of Flisk" who, in 1599, obtained a tack of the revenues of Balmerino Abbey from the last Abbot. He was a leading actor in most of the public events of that troublous time. Knox calls him "blasphemous Balfour," and Robertson, the historian, has characterized him as the most corrupt man of his age. The house at Kirk-of-Field, in which Darnley was murdered, belonged to him, and, according to Knox, James and Gilbert Balfour were among those who "laid hands on the King to kill him."*

David Balfour was succeeded in Grange by his second son GILBERT, who in 1581 entered into a contract with the Com-mendator of Balmerino regarding his lands, and died before 1589.

DAVID, son of the above Gilbert Balfour, and a minor at his father's death, was served heir to him in 1612. He had a son whose name is unknown, but who, leaving a daughter, predeceased his father, who died before 1620.

The next Laird of Grange was MICHAEL BALFOUR, eldest son of the first David Balfour of Grange. A charter of his lands, of the year 1631, specifies the remaining fourth of West Grange (being the sunny or south half), or the half of the

* Knox's History of the Reformation, II., 549. (Laing's Ed.)

fourth part of the whole of Newgrange, Cleikumsclench, Battelaw, Outfield of Byres, &c., which the Balfours must therefore have acquired before that year. This portion had formerly belonged to JOHN OLIPHANT (mentioned in 1596), and in 1622 was possessed by ROBERT AUCHMUTY, who had also several other lands in the parish.

Michael Balfour married Jean Melville, niece of the celebrated Andrew Melville, and was succeeded between 1642 and 1644 by his son ANDREW, who in 1644 acquired from David, son of Robert Auchmuty, the lands of Park, Poyntok, Craingingugies-fauld, 3 acres in Harlands, and one in Woodflat. His daughter Margaret married Andrew Leslie, second son of Sir John Leslie of Newton and Birkhill, and was the ancestress of several of the Lords Lindores.

DAVID BALFOUR was served heir to his father Andrew in 1686, and in 1697 sold the above lands of Park, Poyntok, &c., to the Master of Balmerino. This Laird, and also his father and grandfather, were men of sturdy Covenanting principles.*

In 1723 David Balfour sold Grange to DR ALEXANDER SCRIMGEOUR (whose son afterwards purchased Birkhill), and he was acting as a Commissioner of Supply in 1727; after which date we have no further knowledge of this branch of the family of Balfour.†

* Sibbald (History of Fife), noticing Grange at this time, says—
"Here is, of late, found good slate for covering houses."

† See Appendix, No. XXIV., § 17; and No. XXV., § 4. In Sibbald's time (the end of the 17th century), there were no fewer than twelve branches of the family of Balfour, all proprietors, in Fife. There were several others at an earlier period.

CHAPTER VI.

THE LAIRDS OF BIRK HILL.

"A lowly dale, fast by a river's side,
With woody hill o'er hill encompassed round."

THOMSON.

§ 1. THE LESLEYS AND LEARMONTHS.

THE Lands of Corbie, Corbiehill, &c., now called Birkhill, and anciently forming part of the Abbey property, were feued by Abbot Robert to ANDREW LESLEY of Kilmany, afterwards fourth Earl of Rothes, whose ancestors, the Abernethies, had possessed them, as well as other lands in the Parish, before they were conferred on the Abbey. On the 16th of March 1540-1, Andrew Lesley obtained confirmation, under the Great Seal, of the charter of the above mentioned lands which had been granted to him by Abbot Robert and the Convent; which, with charters of other lands he had acquired, was ratified by Parliament in 1567.

Birkhill afterwards, and before 1573, came into the possession of GEORGE LEARMONTH of Balcomie, who married Euphemia Leslie, daughter of George, third Earl of Rothes, and half-sister of Andrew Leslie. JOHN LEARMONTH, second son of George Learmonth, possessed Birkhill from 1596 to 1600 at least, and in the latter year succeeded to the estate of Balcomie, by the death of James his elder brother in Orkney while on his way home from Lewis, where, with other Fife Lairds, he had been engaged in a very unsuccessful attempt to colonize and subdue the Long Island under the King's authority. "Mr John Learmonth of Birkhill"

formed one of a Royal Commission of twelve persons appointed to visit the three Colleges of the University of St. Andrews, where they met on the 8th of July 1597, "*Rege presente.*"

Before 1614 GEORGE, son of the above Andrew Lesley (then Earl of Rothes), acquired Birkhill, apparently by purchase from his cousin John Learmonth. George Lesley died without issue, and in 1614 his brother, JOHN LESLEY of Lumbennie, was served heir to him in Corbie, Corbiehill, with eight arable acres adjacent, the Wood of Balmerino, with its dikes and ditches,* the fishings of Barnden or Broomden, and Whitequarrel-hope, from Corbieden to Barnden, the lands of the Forester, or keeper of the said Wood (no doubt the Abbey Forester, whose office was usually hereditary, and had a certain portion of land attached to it), "with the principal mansion of the lands of Birkhill, near Lugden," and teinds of the whole. In 1620 John Lesley was served heir to his brother George in the barony of Newton also, comprehending Easter, Wester, and Middle Newton, St Fort Hay and its house, the superiority and fishings of Woodhaven, &c: which possessions his father had acquired in 1535, and had granted in 1596 to his son George and his heirs male, whom failing, to his other son John, and his heirs male.

This John Leslie of Lumbennie, and afterwards of Birkhill and Newton (of which last place he is most frequently designed), was a man of great talents and eminence. In

* From a charter granted to Sir John Lesley in 1655, and other charters, it appears that what was called "the Wood of Balmerino" extended from Corbieden on the west, to the burn of Poyntok on the east, and was bounded on the south by an old dyke, or wall. Within this wood were the lands, and, no doubt, also the house of the Forester, and afterwards the mansion house of Birkhill. A "planting called the Park," is also mentioned. The "Wood of Balmerino" was probably kept as a game preserve for the Monks. Sibbald says that Birkhill was so called "from a park of birks surrounding the house to the south."

1641, when King Charles I., who was then in Edinburgh, created General Lesley Earl of Leven in presence of the Scottish Parliament, "John Lesley of Birkhill," being one of the four esquires in attendance on the new peer, had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him. The following curious account of this interesting ceremony is given in the "Annals" of Sir James Balfour of Danmiln, who was then Lyon King of Arms:—

"6 November, Saturday, Sessio I., *Rege presente*. General Lesley having newly received his patent of Lord Balgony and Earl of Leven, was solemnly this day installed by His Majesty's order, in face of Parliament. Being invested in his Parliament robes, and conducted by the Earls of Eglinton, on his right hand, and Dunfermline, on his left, in their robes; the Duke of Lennox and Richmond, Great Chamberlain of Scotland, in his robes, going before him; in this order did they come through the court, and so entered the Parliament House.

"First went six trumpets in their liveries, two and two in order.

"Then the pursuivants, two and two in order, in their coats of office.

"Then the heralds in their coats, the eldest of which did bear his [Leven's] coronet.

"Next came the Lyon King of Arms, having the new Earl's patent in his hand.

"And after him the Lord Great Chamberlain in his robes, followed by the Earl Marishall, who did usher in the new created Earl, and his two assistants or conductors.

"When they came before the throne, the Lyon delivered the patent to the Earl of Leven, who did give it to the President of the Parliament, and he to the clerk, who openly read it.

"Then after three several low cringes, the Earl ascended the throne, and kneeling before His Majesty, had the usual

oath of an Earl administered to him by the Earl of Lanark, Secretary of State ; after which His Majesty did put the coronet on his head, and [Leven] arising, humbly thanked His Majesty for so great a testimony of his favour, and withal besought his Majesty to knight the four Esquires that did attend him, which, in this order, by His Majesty's command, were called by the Lyon King of Arms :—

“JOHN LESLEY OF BIRK HILL ;

JOHN BROWN OF FORDELL ;

JAMES MELVILLE OF BURNTISLAND ;

ANDREW SKENE OF AUCHTERTOOL.

“Being in this order called by their names, they ascended the throne, and, kneeling, were severally dubbed knights by His Majesty with the Sword of State ; then all of them, again kneeling, had a gilt spur put on their right heel by Sir David Crichton of Lugton, knight, the ancientest knight there at hand. This done, they still on their knees, with uplifted hands, had the oath of a knight administered to them by the Lyon King of Arms, after which they severally kissed His Majesty's hand, descended, and attended the new made Earl to his place, where he was ranked amongst his peers.

“Then was there four several alarges proclaimed, by the Lyon first for His Majesty, by the heralds for the new Earl, and by the pursuivants for the four knights, with all their titles ; after which the Earls retired, and disrobed themselves, and thereafter returned to the House.”

In the same year in which he was knighted, Sir John Lesley, though a staunch royalist, was one of those appointed in the room of four Lords of Session who had been displaced for their adherence to the King's cause, and he took his seat on the bench as Lord Newton. But having accepted a lieutenant-colonelcy in the King's horse-guards, and having been concerned in the Duke of Hamilton's Engagement, he was deprived of his Lordship of Session, and other honours, by

Parliament, in 1649. On the 1st of September 1651, Dundee was taken and plundered by General Monk, and many of the inhabitants, as well as persons of distinction who had flocked into it from the surrounding country for safety, were massacred. Amongst those who perished on that occasion were Robert Lumsdaine of Mountquhanie, who was governor of Dundee, and Sir John Lesley of Newton, with one of his sons.

SIR JOHN LESLEY was succeeded by his eldest son of the same name, who, in 1650, had married Isobel, daughter of George Hay of Naughton, and appears to have been involved in pecuniary difficulties. In 1652 (says Lamont in his Diary) "Sr. Ihone Lesley of Newton and Corbie in Fyfa, sold Corbee wood to some men in Stratherne for 5500 marks; he was to receive the money att 3 or 4 seuerall termes. The tries heir werre not vpon the decaying hand; for the most pairt all of them werre bot younge tries, and not one of ane hundred attained to ther perfection; it consisted of oaks, ashes, plains, allars, birkes, sauches."* In 1662 (says Lamont) "Alexander Cuninghame was scorged through the towne of Cuper of Fiffe, and after brunt in the right hand with a burning iyron, and banished the shyre of Fiffe, because some months agoe, he had ryddine away with his measter, Sr Iohne Lesly of Newton in Fiffe, his horse, and 700 marks, or therby, of his money, and spent the same idelly in the west-countrey."†

The second Sir John Lesley was succeeded by his only son JOHN, who died in 1686 without succession, when the estate of Birkhill went to two nieces of the latter.‡

* Diary, pp. 16, 43.

† Ibid., p. 151.

‡ See Appendix, No. XXIV., § 18, 19, 20.

§ 2. THE DICKS, CARNEGIES, AND ALISONS OF BIRKHILL.

ANNE and JANET DICK, daughters of William Dick of Grange in Mid-Lothian, by his first wife Elizabeth Lesley, daughter of the second Sir John Lesley, were served heirs-portioners of tailzie of their uncle in Birkhill, &c., in 1697, and in Newton at the same time.*

Janet Dick was married to MUNGO CARNEGIE, advocate, of the family of Carnegie of Pitarrow, who acquired Birkhill with his wife. He died in 1705. His wife married, secondly, (before 1711) ALEXANDER ALISON, Writer to the Signet, who was one of the Curators of the family of Mungo Carnegie. She possessed also the third part of Kilmany, and a portion of St. Fort—no doubt inherited from the Lesleys.

Alexander Alison was succeeded in the possession of Birkhill by his eldest son ALEXANDER. The latter dying in, or before 1729, his brother, John Alison, became proprietor of Birkhill in that year.

John Alison becoming bankrupt, the estate of Birkhill was purchased under a judicial sale, in 1744, by DAVID SCRIMGEOUR, advocate, who, however, had been residing at Birkhill several years previously. The price he paid for the property (which did not then include Grange, or Cultra) was £29,600 Scots, or £2,466 13s. 7d. sterling; being about forty-five years' purchase. David Scrimgeour was the son of Dr Alexander Scrimgeour, who had previously purchased the estate of Grange, and who was also proprietor of Wormalt.†

* In 1728 the Hon. Charles Leslie got sasine of Newton; and that property appears to have returned to the Rothes family, and to have remained in their possession till sold to the Earl of Zetland.

† See Appendix, No. XXIV., § 21, 22.

§ 3. THE SCRIMGEOUR-WEDDERBURNS OF BIRKHILL.

The family of SCRIMGEOUR is of great antiquity. According to Buchanan, Malcolm III., whose reign commenced in the year 1057, bestowed the name of Scrimgeour (Skirmisher, or hardy-fighter) on Sir Alexander Carron, at the same time creating him and his heirs hereditary standard-bearers to the King, in reward for a deed of bravery which he performed in a battle on the river Spey, when he crossed that river bearing the royal standard (which the King had taken from its previous bearer, because he saw that he shrank from crossing), and gained a complete victory over the enemy, who were drawn up on the opposite bank. Buchanan also relates a similar exploit performed at the same river by Alexander, son of the above-mentioned Sir Alexander Carron, in the reign of Alexander I. (1106-1124).*

According to other historians, Alexander I. being at his palace of Invergowrie, a plot was formed to seize his person, but Sir Alexander Carron, one of his courtiers, having discovered the plot when it was about to be carried into execution, got His Majesty safely conveyed away by a private passage, and across the Tay to Fife, thus saving the King's life. The King then pursued the rebels as far as the banks of the Spey, where the same Sir Alexander Carron performed the service, and obtained the reward mentioned above.

Whatever may be the precise truth in this matter, and whether one or two persons of the name of Carron distinguished themselves on the banks of the Spey against the enemy, there is no reason to doubt that the name of Scrim-

* See Wood's "Peerage," Nisbet's "Heraldry," and Douglas's "Baronage," from which our account of this family has been mainly compiled.

geour owes its origin to an exploit of the kind described, and that the hereditary office of standard-bearer to the King, with the privilege of carrying part of the royal arms as their armorial bearings, was conferred on this family as early as the reign of Alexander I.

Coming down to the time of Wallace, we then meet with the first authentic records of the family of Scrimgeour. SIR ALEXANDER "THE SKIRMISCHUR," one of that hero's associates in his successful siege of the Castle of Dundee, is allowed to have been the lineal representative of the above Sir Alexander Carron or Scrimgeour, though the intermediate names are not known. Blind Harry, the minstrel, relating the destruction of the Castle, which event followed its surrender, says:—

"Masonis, minouris, with Scrymgeour furth send,
Kest down Dundee, and thereof maid ane end."

At that time Scrimgeour undoubtedly bore the national banner before the army of Wallace, who, as Governor of Scotland, conferred on him and his successors, for his distinguished services, the office of Constable of Dundee, along with a charter of certain lands and houses on the north and west sides of the town. This curious grant is dated at Torphichen, the 29th of March 1298, and the property of Dudhope is believed to have been a portion of the lands conferred by it. A fac-simile of the charter has been published by Anderson in his *Diplomata Scotiae*; and the charter itself is famous as being one of the four original deeds granted by Wallace which alone are now extant.*

"A special lustre (says Mr Burton, in reference to the Scrimgeours†) was always conceded by the popular voice to that race which held a hereditary title conferred by Wal-

* Tytler's History of Scotland, III., 383 (Popular Ed.). Jervise's "Memorials of Angus and Mearns."

† History of Scotland, vol. II., p. 300.

lace." From Scrimgeour, the contemporary of Wallace, the line of the family can be traced down, in unbroken succession, to the present proprietor of Birkhill.

SIR JAMES SCRIMGEOUR of Dudhope was one of those who accompanied the Earl of Mar to Flanders in the beginning of the fifteenth century. We have seen that Sir William Hay of Naughton was another, and that these are both mentioned by an ancient French poet.* Wynton of Lochleven thus notices Scrimgeour in connection with that campaign :—

" Schere James Scremegeoure of Dundee,
Comendit a famous knight was he,
The kingis banneoure of fe,
A lord that wele aucht lovit be."†

And the ballad of "The Battle of Harlaw"—where he was killed in 1411—thus mentions him :—

" Sir James Scrymgeor of Dudhope, knight,
Grit Constabill of fair Dundie,
Unto the dulefull deith was dicht;
The King's chief bannerman was he;
A valziant man of chivalrie,
Quhaise predecessor wan that place
At Spey, with gude King William frie,
'Gainst Murray and Macduncan's race."

The Scrimgeours erected a castle at Dudhope, which appears in Sletzer's View of Dundee as it stood in 1680. It was a large square keep of the style of the fifteenth century, and stood on the site of the present barracks, a much more recent erection. This castle was long the chief residence of the family. As Constables of Dundee, the Scrimgeours were frequently in conflict with the inhabitants.

In 1641 SIR JOHN SCRIMGEOUR of Dudhope was raised to the peerage as Viscount Dudhope and Lord Scrimgeour.

* See page 254.

† Chronicle, II. 433.

JAMES, the second Viscount, was mortally wounded at the battle of Marston Moor on the 2d of July 1644, while fighting in the royal cause.* JOHN, the thirteenth Constable of Dundee, and third Viscount, assisted Charles II. in his famous run or "start" to Clova in 1650, and in the same year accompanied His Majesty to the battle of Worcester. He was taken prisoner in the Braes of Angus by the English in 1654. In 1661 he was rewarded for his loyalty by being created Earl of Dundee. On his death without issue, the Duke of Lauderdale had influence enough to obtain from the Crown a gift of *ultimus haeres*, and afterwards of recognition of his estate in favour of his own brother Charles Maitland of Hatton. The limitations of the peerage are unknown, the patent not being on record; but according to the settlement of the estates in 1541 and 1587, JOHN SCRIMGEOUR of Kirkton, the lineal ancestor of the present proprietor of Birkhill, being the nearest heir-male of line and entail to the Earl, ought to have succeeded to the lands and barony of Dudhope, the office of Constable of Dundee, &c. Maitland's recognition thus unjustly deprived Kirkton of his rights, and caused him and other creditors on the estate to lose their lawful debts, which, with the misfortune of having bought the liferent of the Countess of Dundee, and the expenses of an unsuccessful litigation in prosecution of his rights, obliged him to sell his estates for the payment of his creditors. Particularly, the lands of Kirkton were then sold to John Scrimgeour, merchant in Dundee.†

* Thomson (History of Dundee, 1847) says that both the second and third Viscounts Dudhope were Covenanters.

† The barony of Dudhope and office of Constable of Dundee were afterwards taken from Maitland of Hatton, and given to Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee. At his forfeiture in 1689, these estates, or the greater part of them, were granted to the Earl of Forfar, and are now the property of his descendant, Lord Douglas. (Thomson's History of Dundee, p. 364.)

JOHN SCRIMGEOUR, the former Laird of Kirkton referred to, married Magdalene, daughter of Alexander Wedderburn of Kingennie and Easter Powrie, afterwards called Wedderburn ; and their son, DR ALEXANDER SCRIMGEOUR, who purchased Grange in 1723, was successively Professor of Humanity, of Philosophy, and of Theology in St Andrews University. He was suspended for his Jacobite principles by a Royal Visitation about 1719, and was proceeded against for the same offence by the Synod of Fife. He married Janet, only daughter of Professor David Falconer, of St Andrews, and Laird of Little Kinneir ; and that property was thus acquired by the Scrimgeours.

DAVID SCRIMGEOUR, who purchased Birkhill in 1744, was the son of Professor Scrimgeour. He was called to the bar in 1731, and appointed Sheriff-Depute of Inverness on the abolition of heritable jurisdictions, after the suppression of the rebellion of 1745. His eldest son, ALEXANDER SCRIMGEOUR, succeeded him in his estates in 1772 ; and in 1778, on acquiring by inheritance the estate of Wedderburn in Forfarshire, assumed the name and arms of WEDDERBURN OF WEDDERBURN, of which family it now remains that we give some account.

JAMES WEDDERBURN, merchant in Dundee, in the reign of James III., was descended from a collateral branch of the Wedderburns of that Ilk in Berwickshire, whose lands passed with an heiress to a younger branch of the Homes in the time of Robert III. JOHN, grandson of this James Wedderburn, was town-clerk of Dundee in the reign of James IV., in which office he was followed by his son David, and several other descendants. JAMES, the second son of this David, was appointed Professor of Church History in St Andrews in 1623, and in 1635 became Bishop of Dunblane. Being deprived and excommunicated by the General Assembly which, in 1638, met at Glasgow and abolished Episcopacy, Bishop Wedderburn retired to England, in which

country he had previously held a living, and, dying in 1639, was buried in Canterbury Cathedral.

ALEXANDER WEDDERBURN, the Bishop's elder brother, was in great favour with James VI., whom he accompanied to England on his accession, and who, on his taking leave in order to return to Scotland, took a diamond ring off his finger, and presented it to him as a token of regard. This ring is still preserved at Birkhill. The same Alexander Wedderburn acquired the barony of Kingennie, subsequently erected of new into the barony of Wedderburn. JAMES, his second son, was the ancestor of the Wedderburns of Blackness, of Sir Peter Wedderburn of Gosford, of the Halkets of Pitferran (who changed their name), and of Lord Chancellor Loughborough, who was created Earl of Rosslyn. DAVID WEDDERBURN of Wedderburn dying unmarried in 1761, in him the principal male line ended, and the representation devolved on the family of Blackness. GRISEL, only sister of David Wedderburn of Wedderburn, on her brother's death succeeded to his estate of Wedderburn. On her death, she was succeeded in that property by ALEXANDER SCRIMGEOUR of Birkhill, as the next heir and only surviving descendant of Alexander Wedderburn, third baron of Kingennie, whose daughter Magdalene was married to John Scrimgeour of Kirkton, as has been already mentioned.

In 1811 ALEXANDER SCRIMGEOUR-WEDDERBURN was succeeded by his brother HENRY, who had resided several years in Jamaica. On his death, in 1841, the succession devolved on his only surviving son, FREDERICK LEWIS SCRIMGEOUR-WEDDERBURN, now of Wedderburn and Birkhill, Hereditary Royal Standard-Bearer of Scotland.*

* Burke ("Landed Gentry," Supplement, p. 291) says that the office of Royal Standard-Bearer of Scotland has been claimed at all the coronations since that of George III., for the purpose of a *salvo jure*, by the descendants of James Scrimgeour of Foxhall, in the parish of Kirkliston; but he does not state on what grounds they found such a claim.

The Mansion-house of Birkhill, which a few years ago received such extensive additions and improvements as to render it one of the most elegant structures in the county, was built in 1780 on the site of the old house, which had been the residence of the Lesleys, and is mentioned in charters as early as 1614. A remnant of that edifice, notable for the thickness of its walls, was in existence till the recent alterations.

One of the most remarkable objects in this district is an ancient hedge of very high yew trees, with several hollies interspersed, at Birkhill. It forms three sides of a rectangle, of which the east and west sides are each about ninety yards in length, and the north side about half that number. The great age of the trees is evident both from the thickness of their trunks, and the wide spreading of the branches, which measure about eighteen yards across, or from the inner to the outer side of the hedge. It is quite healthy in every part—without gap or irregularity; and the deep shade of its lofty walls of foliage, together with a peculiar stillness which reigns within the inclosure, produces on the mind of the visitor an impression which is not soon effaced.

Nothing is certainly known either of the age of this hedge, or of the purpose for which it was intended; but as it seems to have been for some time kept low by pruning, and afterwards allowed to expand freely; and as the Abbey Forester appears to have had his residence at Birkhill, it is probable that the hedge was originally designed to serve merely as a fence for his garden. The space inclosed, now used as a flower-garden, was previously—about twenty years since—stocked with fruit trees. Many years ago, part of a causeway was laid bare, but again covered up, at the south side of the rectangle, indicating the former existence of some building there, which was probably of a character superior to the cottages which once stood near the spot.*

* See Appendix, No. XXIV., § 23; and No. XXV., § 4.

CONCLUDING CHAPTER.

THE design of this book being to relate whatever events of any importance could be ascertained concerning "OUR PARISH" from the earliest times of which any records exist down to a period within the recollection of the older members of the present generation of its inhabitants, the plan would not be completed without a brief notice of some matters of a miscellaneous kind, which could not well be set down under any of the preceding divisions.

The Rev. John Thomson, alluding, in the New Statistical Account, to the fact of Queen Magdalene's physicians' choosing St Andrews and Balmerino for her residence, as having "the best aers of any places in the kingdom," says:—"In subsequent generations, dames of meaner degree have been no less indebted to the excellence of its 'aers,' as the following well authenticated facts clearly prove. The writer of the former Statistical Account [the Rev. Andrew Thomson] says, 'The wholesomeness of the climate appears also from the fruitfulness of the females. The present incumbent has often, in the course of ten years, had an opportunity of baptizing twins; and there are two families in the Parish at present, one of whom has had thrice twins, and the other had five sons at two birtha.' I may be permitted to add, that that individual, during his incumbency, baptized, in the Parish, *three times trines*. Few parishes of equal extent contain a greater number of very old people. There are at present [in 1838] 35 individuals bordering on, or upwards of, eighty years. One woman is in her ninety-fifth year, and another died last year in her hundredth. From March 1836 to March 1837 six individuals died, whose united ages

amounted to 512, giving an average of 85 years to each. The last incumbent died in March 1836, in his 91st year."

It may be added, that a few years ago a woman died in the village of Gauldry, who had passed her 102d birth-day; but the number of very old persons in the Parish has of late greatly decreased. Perhaps this fact may have some connection with the greater attention given in more recent times to the registration of births, which, it is to be feared, may ultimately have the effect of considerably shortening human life!

At the date of the Old Statistical Account (1793), oxen were still occasionally used in the Parish, both in the plough and in carriages. Flax was then largely grown, and spun, as well as woven in the Parish. Till within thirty years before that period "the Parish did not produce so much grass as to afford pasture for the cattle necessary for labouring the soil. At that time the farmers were forced to graze out a part, and depended chiefly upon their marshy grounds for the subsistence of the remainder through the summer. Now the bogs are almost all drained." Down to the beginning of the present century there were various "lochs," or small sheets of water in the Parish; one on the south side of Gauldry; one, called the Shepherd's Loch, west from Gauldry, below the public road; one south-east of Priorwell, called Cultra Loch; one near Balgove; one south of Bottomeraig, called the Minister's Loch, where the curling-pond now is; and one on the top of Scurr Hill.

The small feuars had anciently rights of pasturing their cattle and horses on various commons throughout the Parish. About 1778, and subsequently, these rights were resigned to the larger heritors in exchange for portions of land, and the moors or pasture lands of Bottomeraig, Grange, Ballindean, &c., were brought into cultivation. Since that period also most of the Abbey feus have been absorbed into the larger estates, and the small farms have been conjoined into

large ones. Thus the present farm of Balmerino comprehends the lands of seven or eight separate holdings. These changes have led to the disappearance of many cottages from places where there had been dwellings for centuries previously. Small pendicles of land, with a cow's grazing attached to them, which were formerly very numerous, are now very rare. A tanwork, which was carried on at Byres in the early part of this century, has been long ago discontinued.

Other changes are thus noticed in the Old Statistical Account. "The harbour of Balmerino, a creek belonging to the custom-house of Dundee, is the chief place on the south side of the Tay for shipping wheat and barley for the Forth and Canal. The quay was at first designed for shipping lime from the Fife hills to Dundee; now there is not a boll that comes from thence, but, on the contrary, some thousands from Charlestown on the Forth, and from South Sunderland, are delivered annually to the Parish and neighbourhood. This trade has been much on the increase of late. The trade of shipping wheat and barley at this port began about 30 years ago; at first only some farm-bolls were shipped, and afterward the merchants began to buy from the farmers at the weekly market at Cupar, and received their grain at Balmerino. Before that period, the farmers carried their victual either to Dundee, where the merchants shipped the surplus, or transported it upon horseback to the south coast. The number of bolls shipped here last year must, from the nearest calculation, have exceeded 7000."

At the same period the salmon fishing on the Tay was carried on "by means of yairs or scaffolds with pokenets, and in summer with sweep and toot-nets." Spirlings were caught with pokenets tied between poles, and anchored at the back end. Seal-fishing was practised in summer. Stake-nets for catching salmon, introduced in the Tay in 1797, were abolished by a decision of the House of Lords in 1816.

In this Parish the loss sustained by the abolition was estimated to amount to £1000 or £1200 annually to the proprietors, and £1000 in the shape of fishermen's wages. The plan of boiling the salmon in order to preserve them for the London market, which was practised at Balmerino, has long ago been discontinued.

The present public road leading past Little Inch and Bottomcraig was constructed in 1791. The road previously passed by the back of Little Inch, then close in front of Naughton House, and so on by the north end of the present Manse till it joined the line of the present road. The road leading through Cultra and Gauldry was anciently called the Ferrygate.* According to Leighton,† there are 10 miles, 160 yards, of statute-labour roads now in this Parish. The wood along the shore, on the Balmerino estate, was planted in 1812 by Mr Hay of Balendoch, factor for Mr Stuart. The wood east of Leadwells, and the wood south-west of Bottomcraig were first planted about the same time.

The present houses in the villages of Gauldry and Kirkton were mostly built, and the feus acquired from Naughton, in the early part of this century. The greater part of the ground on which Gauldry stands was previously a moor. For several years in the beginning of this century horse-races, patronized by Colonel Morison, were held on the moor south-east of Gauldry. After Colonel Morison's death, these races were kept up by Mr Skene, grandson and heir-apparent of Mr Morison, who generally lived at Naughton; but after Mr Skene's death they were discontinued, as was also a Fair which had been held for some time, twice every year, at Gauldry. It is said that Colonel Morison on one occasion staked £1000 on a horse at the Gauldry Races. The ground

* The old road from Kilmany to Gauldry is still called "The Ferry Road."

† "Fife Illustrated."

selected for the races the last time they were held was the field west from Gauldry, and north of the public road.

The present Churchyard of Balmerino contains only five tombstones of an older date than the last century. There are in it no monuments to any of the larger landholders, with the exception of the Morisons of Naughton, and the Scrimgeour-Wedderburns of Birkhill, whose places of interment occupy the site of the aisle of the old Church, a portion of whose walls was standing as late as about twenty years ago. These places of burial, and also that of the Starks, factors at Balmerino, (which was probably the burying-place of the Starks of Ballindean) are inclosed within iron railings. Mr Andrew Thomson and Mr John Thomson are the only ministers of Balmerino to whom a tombstone has been erected, or whose graves can now be identified. The oldest tombstone in the Churchyard is one which probably dates from before the Reformation. It is a slab on which is an incised cross occupying nearly the whole length of the stone, and represented as standing on a series of four steps. The points of the cross are curiously ornamented with croslets placed within segments of circles. The Latin inscription running round the margin of the slab appears to have been beautifully executed in relief, in Old-English letters, of which the words, *HIC JACET*, are all that are now legible. Figures of tools placed on each side of the cross seem to be those of a mason.

Another stone has the following inscription in raised letters,—“*HER LAYIS ANE FAITHFUL SESTRE [?] ISABEL RAMSAY SPOVS TO ALEXANDR MATHEV OF KIRKTOVN OF BALMERINOH QUHA DEPERTIT THE 8 DAY OF OCTOBR ANNO 1596 OF AGE 61.*” Round a death’s head are the words,—“*DEATH IS LAYF TO THE FAITHFUL.*” This stone bears also the arms of Matthew impaled with those of Ramsay.

Another tombstone has the following inscription,—“*HEIR LAYIS ANE HONEST MAN AND FAITHFUL CALLIT GEORGE RAMSAY BURGES AND BROTHER GILD OF DUNDIE AND PORTIONER OF*

BODDUMCRAIG QVHA DEPAIRTIT YIS PRESENT LYF 15 OF DECEMBER AND OF HIS AGE 90." The sculptor has forgot to insert the year, but the style of the work shows it to be of the same period as the stone last mentioned. It bears Ramsay's arms impaled with his wife's, and the initials G. R. and C. B.

These three stones have probably been removed from the old Convent Churchyard, which is now entirely obliterated.

A few other tombstones may be mentioned. One, on which is inscribed a lengthy passage of Scripture, records the death of Margaret Henderson, wife of James Knox in Peasehills,—which event took place on the last day of February, 1673. Another mentions the death of Christian Glen, portioner of Cultra and Bottomcraig, and spouse of John Wan in St Fort, which took place in 1687, in the 67th year of her age. Besides several texts of Scripture, it bears the following curious inscription:—"This ston is placed heire alenarly be John Wan and Christian Glen his firste lavefyl spova, also for Mary Reid his second lavefyl spous, or any of his nighest relations clamng rigght thereto." Another stone commemorates John Wyllie, Schoolmaster of Balmerino, who died on the 17th of December 1705—the only Schoolmaster to whom a stone has been erected. Another tombstone informs us that John Boyter, husband of "Christian Bere" (Berry), died on the 15th of January 1745, aged 42 years; and that Christian Berry died in 1754. This was the woman who furnished a hiding-place in her house to the last Lord Balmerino. (See page 294.)

Of the modern tombstones, the only one calling for special notice is a granite monument bearing the following inscription:—"In memory of Robert Donaldson of Rosebank, in the county of Aberdeen, this stone is placed. He was born at Wester Kinnaird [Kinneir] in the Parish of Kilmany, in this county, and died at Rosebank 17th April, 1829, in the 80th year of his age; leaving his whole property, with the exception of some legacies, for the propagation of the Chris-

tian Protestant Religion within Scotland and its Islands." The Donaldson Fund, which is considerable in amount, is chiefly applied to educational purposes in the counties of Aberdeen and Fife.

The mention of the Churchyard, which contains the dust of so many parishioners of whom there is no record on earth, reminds us of the words of an old author, which are at the same time very applicable to the contents of this book, and with which we conclude:—"LARGE ARE THE TREASURES OF OBLIVION. MUCH MORE IS BURIED IN SILENCE THAN RECORDED; AND THE LARGEST VOLUMES ARE BUT EPITOMES OF WHAT HATH BEEN."

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

TOPOGRAPHY OF BALMERINO PARISH.

[From the New Statistical Account, by the late Rev. John Thomson ; 1838.]

The Pariah stretches along the south bank of the estuary of Tay, from near the mansion-house of Birkhill on the west, to the Wormit Bay on the east. From these two points it ranges in a semi-circular form towards the small stream of Motray, which constitutes its boundary on the south. Its length along the Tay, from east to west, is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and its breadth from north to south about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles. It is bounded on the north by the Frith of Tay ; on the west by the parish of Flisk ; on the south by Kilmany ; on the east by Forgan or St Fillan's. Within this area there are contained about eight square miles.

Two hilly ridges traverse the Parish from east to west, and run nearly parallel to each other. The Scurr Hill and Coultry Hill form the loftiest points of their respective ridges ; the former, which rises in the northern division of the Parish, attains an elevation of about 400 feet [336 feet, by the Ordnance Survey] above the level of the Tay ; and the latter, which occupies the southern division, is about 500 [514 by the Ordnance Survey]. The Manse and Church are beautifully situated within the intervening valley, which at this point is very narrow, but gradually stretches out to considerable dimensions in its progress eastward. About the centre of the southern ridge, there is a considerable extent of high table-land, in which the village of Gauldry is placed ; the ground slopes gently down on the south towards the valley of Kilmany, and is terminated on the east by the ravine of Wormit-Den, which

here separates the Parish from Forgan : the hamlets of Coulnry and Corbie Hill lie towards the western extremity. The northern ridge declines more rapidly towards the Tay, the shores of which, along the whole boundary, are extremely bold and rocky, rising in some places into precipitous mural cliffs. The villages of Kirkton and Balmerino are both situated on the western slope of the Scurr Hill ; and a little to the south lie the ruins of the Abbey, where the ground gradually declines towards the banks of the Tay. The house of Naughton is built on the southern acclivity of a small isolated ridge, which rises abruptly a little to the east of the Church, in the centre of the valley, on the summit of which the ruins of an old Castle are still to be seen. A beautiful picturesque dell lies immediately beneath, from the bottom of which the rock springs perpendicularly to the height of ninety or a hundred feet, and which is overhung by the walls of the building ; presenting no mean idea of the strength of a place that must have frequently been put to proof by the rude assailants of a former age. The Parish is well wooded, every spot almost, which is less adapted for tillage, being covered with thriving plantations, and without which, many of the grounds, from their elevated situation, would suffer much by their exposure to the easterly gales.

No river or stream of any consequence passes through the Parish. The estuary of Tay is here about four miles broad, but, as high sandbanks stretch outward for nearly a mile, vessels of limited burden only can approach the harbour of Balmerino.

No. II.

GEOLOGY OF THE PARISH.

[Contributed by the late Rev. Dr Anderson of Newburgh to the New Statistical Account.]

The rocks in this Parish belong exclusively to the sandstone and trap families. Of the former there are two varieties, both of which belong to the Old Red Sandstone formations. One of these is the gray sandstone, which is considered by Dr Anderson (Edin. Phil.

Journal, July 1837) as the lowest member of the series, and which, from the organic remains embedded in it, he regards as the same with the beds that traverse the Sidlaws, Strathmore, and the upper part of Strathearn. These remains are exclusively vegetable, being the culms, leaves, and fruit of the order Gramineæ, and which are found in great abundance in one of the softer beds of the deposit that emerges a little to the west of Wormit Bay. From this point, where it may be traced across the frith to Invergowrie Bay, the sandstone ranges westward through the Parish, cropping out at Demmons, and various other places on the estate of Birkhill. It is an extremely compact and durable rock, and is admirably adapted for building operations. The bed in which the organic remains are found is friable and soft, and seems to abound more in aluminous than siliceous matter. The mica is also very abundant in this part of the deposit.

The other variety of sandstone is of a reddish colour. It crops out immediately at the harbour, and ranges westward to Birkhill, where it may be observed on the beach beneath the mansion-house. It contains a considerable quantity of quartz nodules, and portions of other primitive rocks. A scale—only one—has been found in it, similar to those which occur so abundantly in the Parkhill and Clashbennie beds, also at Dura and Drumdryan; and from this circumstance, it may fairly be regarded as a continuation of these interesting rocks. The bed at the harbour is coarse-grained, compact, and hard, and at one time was much sought after for oven floors.

The trap or whinstone consists of several varieties, namely, amygdaloid, trap tuffa, compact felspar, clinkstone, and claystone porphyry. Interesting sections of each may be seen along the shore, from the harbour towards Wormit Bay. The amygdaloid is generally coarse and tuffaceous, but gradually passes, in many places, into a finer variety, which may be considered as approaching to the characters of a *greenstone*. The numerous cavities contained in the coarse kind are lined with white amethyst, flesh-red calcareous spar, white felspar, calcedony, agate, green earth and common quartz. In these nodular masses the calcedony appears to have been first deposited, and the quartz last. The Scurr Hill is well known to the lapidaries and other collectors of these beautiful minerals, and no part of the island, perhaps, affords in such

abundance, as well as such rare and choice specimens of, the several varieties of agates. The compact felspar becomes porphyritic, is of a deep, flesh-red colour, and susceptible of a fine polish. The whole of these rocks, as may be seen at Wormit Bay and Birkhill, are intimately associated with the stratified deposits, and afford the student in geology an interesting view of the manner in which the igneous matter has been injected amongst the sedimentary beds; as well as the induration and disruptions among the latter, that have resulted from the intrusion of the former. The sandstone is, in many instances, by the intrusion of the trap, split up into thin laminae, varying from an inch to a quarter of an inch in thickness; it is sometimes tossed into a vertical position; and in other cases, as at Birkhill beach, the two rocks are so blended and mixed up with each other, as to render it difficult to distinguish them, or to separate the amorphous from the stratified portions.

Boulders of primitive rocks are to be found in every locality along the shore, as well as on the highest ridges. One of huge dimensions, which lay a little to the north of the Manse, excited no small degree of attention, as well as speculation, among the people, as to the means by which it had been placed, bridge-like, across a stream there. It measured about twelve feet in length by nine in breadth, and was of great thickness. By the last incumbent [the Rev. Andrew Thomson], who was fonder of practical agricultural improvements than of plausible and ingenious speculations, it was unceremoniously committed to the blasting influences of gunpowder, when, after being blown into a hundred fragments, it afforded employment of many days' hard work before it could be carted away to the enclosures on the grass glebe. It was a primitive hornblend, or greenstone rock, and must have been transported from beyond "the far distant Grampians" by the agency of floods, of which we have now happily no experience.

[The following is from the New Statistical Account of Flisk.]

A submarine forest of ten miles in length lies along the margin of the Tay, stretching from Flisk-point about three miles upwards, and seven down the river. It is covered at full tide with four or five feet of water. It consists of a bed of peat-moss, and has no alluvial stratum superinduced. Many stumps of trees with their roots attached, and manifestly in the place and position in which

they originally grew, have been observed. It rests on a bed of gray-coloured clay, whose surface, with slight variations, is horizontal, and on a level with low-water mark. (See a paper on this subject by the Rev. Dr Fleming in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh for 1822.)

[We may here advert to a change in the course of the Tay which is said to have taken place at a remote period. The tradition is, that at one time that river flowed close by the foot of the Carse of Gowrie hills, and that the main current joined the Earn somewhere below Errol; while a portion of its waters were not emptied into the principal stream till it reached Invergowrie. A great forest around and eastward from Lindores was anciently called Black Ironside or Earnside Wood. For other circumstances corroborative of the tradition, see the Old Statistical Account of the parish of Longforgan.]

No. III.

BOTANY OF THE PARISH.

[THE following very complete list of the Flowering Plants and Ferns of Balmerino Parish has been kindly furnished for this work by the Rev. James Borwick of Rathillet, who has devoted much attention to the Botany of the district. Mr Borwick desires it to be stated, however, that there are some portions of this Parish which he has not examined; that Birkhill woods, and other places, must furnish several more plants; and that it is known that the late Mr Gardiner of Dundee found the banks by the shore fertile in mosses. With Mr Borwick's list are here incorporated the names of additional plants which have been noticed in the Parish by the Rev. James Farquharson, M.A., of Selkirk. They are indicated thus,—[Mr F.] A few also are inserted, which are mentioned in the New Statistical Account, and in Swan and Leighton's "Fife Illustrated." The more particular localities of a few rare plants, and of some which, though not uncommon elsewhere, are rare in this neighbourhood, are indicated by letters thus:—(A.), about the Abbey; (B.), Birkhill; (B. T.), the banks of the Tay; (G.), Gauldry; (N.),

Naughton. The mark * indicates those plants which, although now naturalized in some localities, are, in the opinion of Mr Farquharson, certainly not natives in this district. The names of the plants are set down in the order followed in the Catalogue of British Plants printed for the Botanical Society of Edinburgh.]

RANUNCULACEAE. **Aconitum Napellus*; *Anemone nemorosa*; **Aquilegia vulgaris*; *Caltha palustris*; **Eranthis hyemalis*; *Ranunculus acris*; *R. aquatilis*; *R. bulbosus*; *R. Ficaria*; *R. Flammula*; *R. hederaceus*; *R. repens*; *R. sceleratus* (B.).

PAPAVERACEAE. *Chelidonium majus* (G.); *Papaver Argemone* (Scurr), [Mr F.]; *P. dubium*; *P. Rhoeas*.

FUMARIACEAE. *Fumaria capreolata*; *F. officinalis*.

CRUCIFERAE. *Alliaria officinalis* (B.); *Barbarea vulgaris*; *Brassica campestris*; *Capsella Bursa-pastoris*; *Cardamine hirsuta* (B.); *C. pratensis*; *Cheiranthus Cheiri* (A.); *Cochlearia anglica* (B. T.), [N. Stat. Ac.]; *C. officinalis*; *Draba verna*; *Lepidium campestre*; *L. latifolium*; *Nasturtium officinale*; *N. palustre* (B.); *Raphanus Raphanistrum* [Mr F.]; *Sinapis arvensis*; *Sysimbrium officinale*; *S. thalianum*; *Teesdalia nudicaulis*.

RESEDAEAE. *Reseda lutea* [Leighton]; *R. Luteola* (B.).

CISTACEAE. *Helianthemum vulgare*.

VIOLACEAE. *Viola canina*; *V. lutea*; *V. odorata*; *V. tricolor*.

POLYGALACEAE. *Polygala vulgaris*.

CARYOPHYLLACEAE. *Arenaria serpyllifolia*; *Cerastium arvense*; *C. glomeratum*; *C. tetrandrum* [Mr F.]; *C. triviale*; *Honkenya peploides* (B. T.); *Lychnis diurna*; *L. Flos-cuculi*; *L. Githago*; *L. vespertina*; *Malachium aquaticum*; *Moehringia trinervis*; *Sagina apetala*; *S. nodosa*; *S. procumbens*; *S. subulata*; *Silene inflata*; *Stellaria glauca*; *S. graminea*; *S. Holostea*; *S. media*; *S. uliginosa*.

MALVACEAE. **Malva moschata* (A. and B.); *M. rotundifolia* (A. and B.); *M. sylvestris*.

TILIACEAE. **Tilia europaea* (B.).

HYPERICACEAE. **Hypericum calycinum* (N.); *H. dubium*; *H. hirsutum*; *H. humifusum*; *H. perforatum*; *H. pulchrum*; *H. quadrangulum*.

GERANIACEAE. *Erodium cicutarium* (B.); *Geranium columbinum* (B.), [Leighton]; *G. dissectum*; *G. lucidum* (N.), [Mr F.]; *G. molle*; *G. pratense* (B. T.); *G. robertianum*; *G. sylvaticum* [N. Stat. Ac.]

LINACEAE. *Linum catharticum* (B. T.); *Radiola Millegrana*.

OXALIDACEAE. *Oxalis Acetosella*.

LEGUMINOSAE. *Anthyllis Vulneraria*; *Astragalus hypoglottis*; **Lathyrus latifolius* (G.); *L. macrorrhizus*; *L. pratensis*; *Lotus corniculatus*; *L. major*; *Medicago lupulina*; *Melilotus officinalis*; *Ononis arvensis*; *Sarothamnus scoparius*; *Trifolium arvense*; *T. medium*; *T. minus*; *T. pratense*; *T. procumbens*; *T. repens*; *T. striatum* (Fincraigs), [Mr F.]; *Ulex europaeus*; *Vicia Cracca*; *V. hirsuta*; *V. lathyroides*; *V. Orobus*; *V. sativa*; *V. sepium*.

ROSACEAE. *Agrimonia Eupatoria* (B. T. and B.); *Alchemilla arvensis*; *A. vulgaris*; *Comarum palustre*; *Crataegus Oxyacantha*; *Fragaria vesca*; *Geum intermedium* (B.), [Mr F.]; *G. rivale*; *G. urbanum*; *Potentilla anserina*; *P. reptans*; *P. Tormentilla*; *Prunus avium* (B.); *P. communis* (B. T.); *Pyrus aucuparia*; *Rosa canina*; *R. rubiginosa*; *R. spinosissima*; *R. tomentosa*; *R. villosa*; *Rubus caesius*; *R. Idaeus*; *R. plicatus*; *R. saxatilis*; **Spiraea salicifolia*; *S. Ulmaria*.

ONAGRACEAE. *Circaea Lutetiana*; *Epilobium hirsutum*; *E. montanum*; *E. palustre*; *E. parviflorum*; *E. tetragonum*.

PORTULACACEAE. *Montia fontana*.

PARONYCHIACEAE. *Lepigonum rubrum*; *L. marinum*; *Scleranthus annuus*; *Spergula arvensis*.

CRASSULACEAE. *Sedum acre*; *S. reflexum*; *S. Rhodiola*; *S. Telephium*; **Sempervivum tectorum*.

SAXIFRAGACEAE. *Chrysosplenium oppositifolium*; *Saxifraga granulata*.

UMBELLIFERAE. *Aegopodium Podagraria*; *Aethusa Cynapium*; *Angelica sylvestris*; *Anthriscus sylvestris*; *Bunium flexuosum*; **Carum Carui*; *Chaerophyllum temulum*; *Conium maculatum*; *Daucus Carota*; *Heracleum Sphondylium*; *Hydrocotyle vulgaris*; *Myrrhis odorata*; *Oenanthe crocata*; *Pimpinella Saxifraga*; *Sanicula europaea* (B.); *Scandix Pecten-Veneris*; *Torilis Anthriscus*.

ARALIACEAE. *Hedera Helix*.

CAPRIFOLIACEAE. *Lonicera Periclymenum*; *Sambucus nigra*.

RUBIACEAE. *Asperula odorata*; *Galium Aparine*; *G. cruciatum*; *G. palustre*; *G. saxatile*; *G. uliginosum*; *G. verum*; *Sherardia arvensis*.

VALERIANACEAE. *Valeriana officinalis*; **V. pyrenaica* (B.); *Valerianella dentata*; *V. olitoria*.

DIPSACACEAE. *Knautia arvensis*; *Scabiosa succisa*.

COMPOSITAE. *Achillea Millefolium*; *A. Ptarmica*; *Antennaria dioica*; *Anthemis arvensis* [Mr F.]; *Apargia autumnalis*; *A. hispida*; *Arctium majus*; *Artemisia maritima* (B. T.), [N. Stat. Ac.]; *A. vulgaris*; *Aster Tripolium*; *Bellis perennis*; *Carduus arvensis*; *C. acanthoides* (B. T.), [Mr F.]; *C. lanceolatus*; *C. nutans*; *C. palustris*; *Centaurea Cyanus*; *C. nigra*; *C. scabiosa*; *Chrysanthemum Leucanthemum*; *C. segetum*; *Crepis paludosa*; *C. virens*; **Doronicum Pardalianches*; *Eupatorium cannabinum* (B. T.); *Filago germanica*; *F. minima* (N.), [Mr F.]; *Gnaphalium sylvaticum*; *G. uliginosum*; **Hieracium aurantiacum* (B.); *H. murorum*; *H. Pilosella*; *H. vulgatum*; *Lapsana communis*; *Leontodon Taraxacum*; *L. palustre*; *Matricaria inodora*; *M. Parthenium*; *Petasites vulgaris*; *Senecio Jacobaea*; **S. saracenicus* (G.); *S. sylvaticus*; *S. viscosus*; *S. vulgaris*; *Solidago Virgaurea* (B.); *Sonchus asper*; *S. oleraceus*; *Tanacetum vulgare* (A.); *Tussilago Farfara*.

CAMPANULACEAE. *Campanula glomerata*; *C. latifolia* (B.); *C. rapunculoides*; *C. rotundifolia*.

ERICACEAE. *Calluna vulgaris*; *Erica cinerea*; *E. Tetralix*; *Pyrola minor*.

VACCINEACEAE. *Vaccinium Myrtillus*.

AQUIFOLIACEAE. *Ilex Aquifolium*.

APOCYNACEAE. **Vinca major*.

GENTIANACEAE. *Menyanthes trifoliata*.

CONVOLVULACEAE. *Convolvulus arvensis*; *C. sepium*.

BORAGINACEAE. *Echium vulgare*; *Lithospermum arvense*; *Lycopsis arvensis*; *Mycosis arvensis*; *M. palustris*; *M. sylvatica*; *M. versicolor*; **Symphytum officinale*.

SCROPHULARIACEAE. *Digitalis purpurea*. *Euphrasia odontites*; *E. officinalis*; **Linaria Cymbalaria*; *L. vulgaris*; *Melampyrum pratense* (B.); *Pedicularis palustris*; *P. sylvatica*; *Rhinanthus Crista-galli*; *Scrophularia aquatica*; *S. nodosa*; *S. vernalis*; *Veronica agrestis*; *V. Anagallis*; *V. arvensis*; *V. Beccabunga*; *V. Chamaedrys*; *V. hederifolia*; *V. officinalis*; *V. scutellata*; *V. serpyllifolia*.

LABIATAE. *Ajuga reptans*; *Calamintha Clinopodium* (B.); *Galeopsis Tetrahit*; *G. versicolor*; *Lamium album*; *L. amplexicaule*; *L. intermedium*; **L. maculatum*; *L. purpureum*; *Mentha*

aquatica; *M. arvensis*; *M. piperita*; *M. rotundifolia* (B.); *Nepeta Glechoma*; *Prunella vulgaris*; *Scutellaria galericulata* (B.); *Stachys arvensis*; *S. palustris*; *S. sylvatica*; *Teucrium Scorodonia*; *Thymus Chamaedrya*.

LENTIBULARIACEAE. *Pinguicula vulgaris* (B.).

PRIMULACEAE. *Anagallis arvensis*; *Glaux maritima* (B. T.); *Lysimachia nemorum* (B.); *Primula elatior* [N. Stat. Ac.]; *P. veris* (Scurr); *P. vulgaris*.

PLANTAGINACEAE. *Plantago Coronopus*; *P. lanceolata*; *P. major*; *P. maritima*.

CHENOPODIACEAE. *Atriplex hastata*; *A. littoralis*; *Chenopodium album*; *C. Bonus-Henricus* (A.); *C. polyspermum*.

POLYGONACEAE. *Polygonum amphibium*; *P. aviculare*; *P. Bistorta* (B.); *P. convolvulus*; *P. Hydropiper*; *P. Persicaria*; *Rumex acetosa*; *C. Acetosella*; *R. crispus*; *R. maritimus* (B. T.) [N. Stat. Ac.]; *R. obtusifolius*; *R. palustris*; *R. sanguineus*.

THYMELEACEAE. **Daphne Laureola*.

EMPETRACEAE. *Empetrum nigrum*.

EUPHORBIACEAE. *Euphorbia helioscopia*; *E. paralias* [N. Stat. Ac.]; *E. peplus*; *Mercurialis perennis*.

URTICACEAE. *Parietaria diffusa* (A.); *Urtica dioica*; *U. urens*.

CALLITRICHACEAE. *Callitriche verna* [Mr F.].

AMENTIFERAE. *Betula alba*; *Corylus Avellana* (B.); *Fagus sylvatica*; *Populus tremula* [Mr F.]; *Salix caprea*; *S. repens*; *S. stipularis*; *S. viminalis*.

ORCHIDACEAE. *Epipactis latifolia* (B.); *Listera ovata* (B.); *Orchis latifolia*; *O. maculata*; *O. mascula*.

IRIDACEAE. *Iris Pseudacorus*.

AMARYLLIDACEAE. **Galanthus nivalis*.

LILIACEAE. *Allium ursinum* (B.); *A. vineale* (B. T.); *Convallaria majalis* (B.); *Endymion nutans*; **Muscari racemosum*; **Tulipa sylvestris* (A.).

JUNCACEAE. *Juncus acutiflorus*; *J. bufonius*; *J. compressus*; *J. conglomeratus*; *J. effusus*; *J. glaucus*; *J. lamprocarpus*; *J. squarrosus*; *J. supinus*; *Luzula campestris*; *L. multiflora*; *L. congesta*; *L. pilosa*; *L. sylvatica*.

ALISMACEAE. *Alisma Plantago* [N. Stat. Ac.]; *Triglochin maritimum*; *T. palustre*.

CYPERACEAE. *Carex distans*; *C. disticha* (Fincraigs mill-dam),

[Mr F.]; *C. flava*; *C. fulva*; *C. glauca*; *C. hirta*; *C. limosa*; *C. ovalis* (Glebe), [Mr F.]; *C. panicea*; *C. praecox*; *C. pulicaris* (B. T.), [Mr F.]; *C. stellulata*; *C. vulgaris*; *C. vulpina*; *Eleocharis multicaulis*; *E. palustris*; *Eriophorum angustifolium*; *Scirpus lacustris*; *S. maritimus* (B. T.); *S. setaceus* (B. T.), [Mr F.]; *S. sylvaticus* (B.).

GRAMINEAE. *Agrostis alba*; *A. canina*; *A. vulgaris* (B. T.); *Aira caespitosa*; *A. caryophylla* [Mr F.]; *A. flexuosa* [Mr F.]; *A. praecox*; *Alopecurus bulbosus*; *A. fulvus*; *A. geniculatus*; *A. pratensis*; *Anthoxanthum odoratum*; *Arrhenatherum avenaceum*; *Avena pratensis*; *Brachypodium sylvaticum* (B. T.), [Mr F.]; *Briza media*; *Bromus asper*; *B. sterilis*; *Cynosurus cristatus*; *Dactylis glomerata*; *Festuca bromoides*; *F. ovina*; *F. duriuscula* [Mr F.]; *Glyceria aquatica*; *G. fluitans*; *Holcus lanatus*; *H. mollis*; *Hordeum maritimum* (B. T.), [N. Stat. Ac.]; *H. murinum* (A.); *Koeleria crestata* [Mr F.]; *Lolium italicum*; *L. perenne*; *Milium effusum* (B.); *Nardus stricta*; *Phalaris arundinacea*; *Phleum pratense*; *Phragmites communis* (B.); *Poa annua*; *P. nemoralis*; *P. pratensis*; *P. trivialis*; *Serrafalcus commutatus*; *S. mollis*; *Triticum repens*.

EQUISETACEAE. *Equisetum arvense*; *E. limosum*; *E. palustre*.

FILICES. *Asplenium Adiantum-nigrum*; *A. Ruta-muraria*; *A. Trichomanes*; *A. Filix-foemina*; *A. convexum*; *Blechnum boreale*; *Botrychium Lunaria* (G.); *Cystopteris dentata*; *C. fragilis* (B.); *Lastraea Filix-mas*; *L. spinulosa* (B.); *L. dilatata*; *Polypodium Dryopteris* (Rocks at Bottomcraig); *P. vulgare*; *Polystichum aculeatum*; *P. angulare* (B.); *Pteris aquilina*; *Scolopendrium vulgare* (B.).

[The New Statistical Account gives also the following names of plants:—*Triticum Loliaceum* (B. T); *Statice Armeria* (B. T.).]

NO. IV.

LIST OF THE ABBOTS OF BALMERINO.

I.—REGULAR ABBOTS.

I. ALAN I.,	Appointed 1229,	Died	1236.
II. RALPH,	Elected 1236,	„	1251.
III. JOHN,	„ 1251,	Resigned	1252.

IV. ADAM I.,	Elected	1252,	Resigned	1260.
V. ADAM II.,	"	1260,	Died	1270.
VI. WILLIAM DE PERISBY,	"	1270,	He (?) died	1281.
VII. THOMAS ?,	"	1281.		
VIII. WILLIAM II.,	Mentioned	1296.		
IX. ALAN II.,	"	1317.		
X. HUGH,	"	1368.		
XI. JOHN DE HAYLIS,	"	1408	to	1435.
XII. RICHARD,	"	1441	to	1459.
XIII. ROBERT,	"	1526	to	1559.

II.—COMMENDATORY ABBOTS.

I. JOHN HAY,	Appointed	1561 ?,	Died	1573.
II. { HENRY KINNEIR,	"	1573,	Deprived	1600.
III. { JOHN KINNEIR,	"	1581 }	Died between	
			1598 and 1604.	
IV. ROBERT AUCHMUTY,	"	1604,	Resigned	1605.

No. V.

LIST OF THE MINISTERS OF BALMERINO FROM THE
REFORMATION.

1. Mr ARCHIBALD KEITH, admitted	1560.
2. Mr PATRICK AUCHINLECK, mentioned 1571 to	1576.
3. Mr THOMAS DOUGLAS of Stonypath, mentioned	1578.
Died between June 1632 and August	1634.
4. Mr WALTER GREIG, admitted Assistant and Successor to Mr Douglas about 1622; died	1672.
5. Mr ANDREW BRUCE, admitted	1673.
6. Mr JAMES GAIRNS or GARDEN, admitted	1676.
Translated to Carnbee	1678.
7. Mr GEORGE HAY, admitted	1678.
8. Mr JOHN AUCHTERLONY, outed	1689.
(Was afterwards minister of Fordun.)	
9. Mr ANDREW BOWIE, admitted	1690.
Translated to Ceres 1692; and to North Leith	1697.
(Vacancy for nearly four years.)	

10. Mr JAMES HAY, admitted 1696; died 1752.
11. Mr THOMAS KERR, admitted Assistant and Successor to
Mr Hay 1722; died 1741.
12. Mr THOMAS STARK of Ballindean, admitted . . 1742.
Died 1772.
13. Mr JOHN STARK of Ballindean, admitted . . 1773.
Demitted 1781.
14. Mr ANDREW THOMSON, admitted 1782; died . . 1836.
15. Mr JOHN THOMSON, admitted Assistant and Successor 1824.
Died 1857.
16. The present incumbent, admitted 10th Dec. . 1857.

No. VI.

LIST OF THE SCHOOLMASTERS OF BALMERINO FROM
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PARISH SCHOOL.

[See page 191.]

1. Mr JAMES SIBBALD, Appointed 1641, Mentioned 1649.
2. Mr JOHN WYLLIE, „ 1657, Died 1705.
3. Mr ROBERT WYLLIE, son } „ 1706.
of the last, }
4. Mr WILLIAM JACK, „ 1712, Mentioned 1718.
5. Mr WILLIAM DOW, „ 1729.
6. Mr WILLIAM ARTHUR, } „ 1731.
student in divinity, }
7. Mr JOHN GOW, music } „ 1732.
master in Cupar, }
8. Mr — MYLES, Mentioned 1737 to 1742.
9. Mr ALEXANDER BROWN, Appointed 1742.
10. Mr GEORGE GOURLAY, „ 1744.
11. Mr GEORGE PATON, „ 1755, Demitted 1762.
12. Mr ANDREW GRAY, „ 1763.
13. Mr DAVID PATON, „ 1781.
14. Mr WILLIAM BALLINGALL, „ 1830.

No. VII.

ALIENATION OF THE ABBEY LANDS.

[Referred to at page 122.]

[In Appendix, No. XXV. will be found the dates of the alienation of the Abbey lands in this Parish. We subjoin notes of several lands situated elsewhere, which were feued before the Reformation; but there are others, the particulars of which we have not ascertained. The names set down in the Abbey Rental (Appendix, No. IX.) seem to be, in many cases, those of the *original* feuars, and will thus in some measure supplement the deficiencies in the following list. It may be mentioned that a sum of money was usually paid to the Convent by way of purchase-money, besides the *reddendo* which, in addition to a payment in money, poultry, &c., usually included three suits of attendance annually by the feuars at as many Head Courts of the Abbot, either at Balmerino or at Barry.]

The lands and village of Pitgorno must have been feued before 1526, since in that year Thomas Scott obtained from his father Sir William Scott of Balweary, a charter of them, the *reddendo* to be paid to Abbot Robert and his successors. This was confirmed under the Great Seal in 1551.

In 1529 Andrew Kinloch in Luthrie got a charter from the Abbot and Convent of the lands of Wester Kinneir. Confirmed under the Great Seal in 1542. The *reddendo* to be £10, and £4 of augmentation, with three suits at three Head Courts at Balmerino Abbey. (In Nisbet's "Heraldry" the purchase-money and *reddendo* are said to be "200 merks and the upholding the walls of the Abbacy," the latter part, at least, of which statement is quite incorrect.)

Tor Catholach (Kedlock) seems to have been still in the possession of the Convent in 1559, but to have been soon afterwards feued to the Kinneirs of that ilk.

In 1532 John Auchinleck obtained from the Abbot and Convent a charter and sasine of Woodhill, Easter Coitside, four acres of Wester Coitside, and the lands called Priestmeadow—"in the

barony of Barrie"—the *reddendo* to be 28 merks Scots, 12 capons, 14 geese, and 12 poultry, as the farm duty payable before the granting of the feu, with 10 merks in augmentation—and the labouring yearly an acre of land of their meadow of Barry after the hay was taken off it, with arriage and carriage for the said 4 acres of Coitside, and three suits to three Head Courts of the Barony of Barry, &c. Confirmed by the Pope's Commissioner at St Andrews, the 8th of Oct., 1532; and by the Crown to John Auchinleck's successor in 1590.

Ravensby was feued in 1539.

Pitskellie was feued in the time of Abbot Robert.

In 1541 Gedhall or Doghall was feued to David Garden. In 1550 these lands were resigned, and again feued to Thomas Gardyne, son of Patrick Gardyne of that ilk.

In 1545 Walter Cant got a charter from the Abbey of half the Links of Barry and Cowbyres, with the parsonage and vicarage tithes. The purchase-money was 200 merks, and the *reddendo* £28 Scots, and three suits at three Head Courts at Balmerino Abbey.

In 1552 Robert Forrester got a charter of the other half of Links of Barry, &c., with tithes; also of the lands of Budden, Links of the same, and Deyhouse. The *reddendo* included the duty of furnishing a house to the Abbot and his representatives when they came to keep their Courts there. Confirmed in 1554 by the Archbishop of St Andrews as Papal Legate.

No. VIII.

EXTRACT FROM ADMIRAL WYNDHAM'S DESPATCH TO
LORD GREY, dated 27th December 1547.

[Referred to at page 118.]

"This is to advertyse yo' L. that the xxv of decembre at nyght I londed wth iij^o men wth the harquebusyers you sent at an Abbey beyond Dundee called Balmoryne w^{ch} was very stronge if thay had purposed to have kept it, notwithstanding I skyrmyshed at the howse wth the Skotts, and thay shott wth harquebushes of

Croke at mee, notwithstanding we kylled iiij of the Skotts beyng horsemen with our harquebushes and bornt the Abbey with all thyngs that wer in it and certayn vyllages adioyning to y^t wth a gret dele of corne, and I trust yo^r L. shall know that I wyll lese no tyme as oportunyte shall find here or ells where. . . .

. . . Wrytten in the ryver of Teye the xxvij of December.

"Yours to Command,

"Thos. Wyndham."

NOTE.—There is another despatch of the same date from Wyndham to Somerset, in which the attack on Balmerino Abbey is related in terms almost identical with the above.]

No. IX.

RENTAL OF THE ABBAY OF BALMERINOTH.

(From a MS. in the Advocates' Library.)*

[This Rental belongs to the period of Henry Kinneir's Commendatorship: the precise year is uncertain. Most, if not all of the lands &c. specified were *feued* to the persons named, and the *rents* are feu-duties. We have transposed the *order* of many of the entries in the Fife division, so as to bring together all the lands in Balmerino Parish, and in its several localities respectively. Several portions of Abbey land in this Parish are wanting in the Rental.]

I.—IN THE COUNTY OF FIFE.

The Maner place of Balmerino of old called y^e Abbay y^of w^t the clausure and precinct of y^e same w^t y^e garden and orcheyard and Kirk yeard of y^e s^d convent set to Henry Commendator of Balmerinoth for 2 li. 13s. 9d.

The Wood of Balmerino w^t the salmond fishing called Barnden fishing and teinds included set to Kinneir and his spouse for 10 li.

(Set to Geo. Lermouth of Balcomie for 10 m. 4 dozen of red salmond and 1 dozen grilses sold at 10 m.)

* The Author has to thank George Hunter Thoma, Esq., for procuring for him a copy of this document.

Four acres of Barncroft and piece land annext y^eto with y^e teinds included set to him for 1 li. 13s. 4d.

The Green of Balmerino with y^e yeard &c. set to him for 1 li. 6s. 8d.

The milne called the Overmilne w^t multures w^t the byre Killbarne milyeard &c. set to him for 4 li. 13s. 4d.

The arable yeards of Balmerinoch ex^d to 4 aikers of land w^t y^e fruit yeard and house called y^e burnt Girnell w^t teyndis included ex^d to 53s. 4d. & 7s. 8d. for ilk aiker of 5 aikers in Wodflatt 4 aikers in Harlands and four aikers in Crossfaulds And for Barnyeards 2s. set to y^e s^d Joⁿ Kinneir for 7 li. 6s. 8d.

Four aikers of land of Harland and Wodflatt set to him for 1 li. 18s. 4d. and 10 puld.

The prin^l milne called the Newmilne and kyle y^eof w^t mult^r sucken and girst of y^e haill barony of Balmerinoth set in feu to David Kinneir broy^r to Henry Abbot of Balmerinoth for 3 li. 1s. 4d.

Four oxgate of arable land of y^e North part of y^e maynes of Balmerinoth w^t houses biggins and teinds included set in feu to Wilson for 3 li. 2s. 4d. 11 bolls bear 11 bolls oatmeal. For the teinds 2 bolls bear 2 bolls oatmeal 4 bolls horsecorn and 11s. of augmentatione.

The lands aikers and miln underw^r lying in y^e barony of Balmerinoth set to Alex^r Mathew viz. That part of y^e mains lying at y^e north part of y^e same ext. to 2 l. 12s. 2d. 2 b. 1 firl. wheat 8 b. 2 firl. bear 6 bolls 2 firl. oatmeal 3 b. horsecorn 2 pons (?) wheat 1 firl. bear 1 firl. oatmeale & 2s. 6d. of augmentation—Four aikers lying besyde Peter Crichton's land ext. to 10 puld. & 33s. 4d.

The Nethermilne of Balmerinoth with multures & girst of y^e barony of Balmerinoth set for 40s. and 10s. of augmentation.

Ane piece of land called St Taills Chapell w^t Kisle [kylⁿ?, or kirk?] aiker set to Beaton of Balfour for 1 li.

The croft & yard occupied be Elleis Danzell lying besyde y^e s^d monastery set to Ramsay for 6s.

Sex aikers of land of Skurbank in y^e barony of Balmerinoth set to Thomas Fender indweller in Ed^r for feu & augm. 2 li. 6s. 8d.

Four aikers of land of Skurbank set to Tullois for 1 li. 18s. 8d. 8 puld. w^t arriage and carriage used and wont.

Ane aiker of land called Skurbank set to Tullois for 7s. 8d.

The eist or sonny half aiker of arable land of Boghall set to him [for] 3s. 10d. & 1 puld.

The west or shadow halfe of y^e west aiker of arable land of Boighall set to Ballingall for 1 puld. & 3s. 10d.

Twa part of Drumhary & Bodincraig w^t 8 aikers y^r & teinds included in y^e barony of Balmerinoth set for 1 boll 2 f. wheat 4 bolls 2 firl. beir 2 b. 1 fir. oatmeal 2 bolls horsecorn. The teinds included set for two firls. wheat 2 b. 3 firls. bear 1 boll 2 firl. oatmeal 2 hirss of straw 35s. 4d. of money. The saids 8 aikers set for 53s. 4d. of money 16 puld. The teynd sh. y^r of set for 4 bolls beir & 6s. 9d. of money. The twae part of Drumhary & Bodincraig of augmentaⁿ 1f. bear 1 firl. meale 2s. 8d. of money 8s. of augm. for y^e 8 aikers. Inde 2 bolls wheat 11 bolls 2 f. bear 4 b. oatmeal 2 b. horsecorn 2 hirss of straw 16 puld. & 5 l. 6s. 8d. (?) of money.

Two aikers of Bodincraig in y^e bar. of Balmerinoth set to Watson for 4 puld. & 15s 4d.

The Lands of Bodincraig ex^d to 5 aikers or y^rby lying in Scurbank set to Buttour for 10 puld. & 1 li. 18s.

Five aikers of land of Bodincraig in y^e barony of Balmerinoth set to Ramsay for 10 puld. & 1 li. 11s. 1d.

The lands underwriⁿ set to And. Wilson viz. Ane third p^t of y^e lands of Drumharie & Bodincraig &c. except two aikers—17s. 8d. 2b. 3 f. bear 2 b. 1 f. aitmeal 1 boll horsecorn 1 hirss of stray & 2 pons (?) of bear 2 pons (?) of aitmeale & 16s. of augment^{ne}.

The lands of park of Poyntok for 10s. & 20s. of augmentatione — 1 li. 10s.

The lands of Craigingrugisfauld 8 puld & 1 li. 7s.

The 3 aikers in Harlands and 1 in Wodflat 8 puld & 1 li. 10s. 8d.

Four aikers lying in Harlands and Wodflatt and teyndns in y^e parochin of Balmerinoth set to Thomson for 8 puld. & 1 li. 13s. 4d.

Four acres of Barncroft ext. to 26s. 8d. 8 puld. and 4s. of augm. Ane piece land beneath y^e saids aikers exd. to 2s. 8d. The teind sh. y^r of ext. to 2 bolls bear & 2 hirss of straw set to Durham. Inde 33s. 4d. 8 puld. 2 b. bear 2 hirss of stray in y^e s^d barony.

The lands of Cathills set for 8 l. and fishing of salmond and oʳ fish set for 23 l. 4s. 4d. set in feu to Balfour of Ballednoch for 31 l. 4s. 4d.

Two aikers of land in y^e town of Dochoren lying in y^e barony of Balmerinoth set in feu to Harvie for 4 puld. & 15s. 4d.

Ane aiker of land of Docheron set to Jon. Foulls for 1 li. 6 puld. & 3s. 4d. of augmentatione.

Two aikers of ye toun & lands of Docheron in y^e barony of Balmerinoth set to Watson for 4 puld. & 15s. 4d.

Six aikers of Docheron set to Coline for 12 puld. & 46s.

The lands of Pitmossie set to Bayn for 10 puld. & 2 li.

The lands and towne of Newgrange the 4th p^t of Clackmuyes Cleuch and Battilaw halflands of Crowfaulds 1 aiker of Cultray 4th p^t of y^e outfield lands of Byres lying in y^e barony of Balmerinoth set to Balfour for 24 l. 16s. 6d.

The 4th part of y^e toune and lands of Newgrange in the Barony of Balmerinoth set to Oliphant for 69 li.

The halfe lands and toune of Newgrange of Balmerinoth w^t two aikers of y^e rest of y^e same. Two aikers of y^e toune and lands of Cultrey. The half of y^e lands of Outfield of Byres with Watersfauld w^t oʳ 4 aikers of Cultray. The lands of Bangioff ext^d to 13 aikers 3 aikers of Harlands ane aiker in Wodflatt. And lands of Dutheron ext. to 16 aikers of land set to Ramsay for 51 li. 6s. 8d.

Four aikers of land of y^e toun of Cultray in y^e barony of Balmerinoth set in feu to Lichon for 8 puld. & 1 li. 10s. 4d.

Ten aikers of arable land in y^e toune of Cultrey set to Wood for 4 l. 13s. 8d.

Twa aikers of Cultrey set to Ballingall of Bodincraig for 15s. 4d. & 4 puld.

Seven aikers of Cultrey set to Rolland for 14 puld. & 2 l. 13s. 4d.

Ten aikers of land of y^e toun of Cultrey set to Ramsay for 20 puld. & 3 l. 16s. 8d.

The equal halfe of 7 aikers of arable land of Cultrey set to Ramsay for 7 puld. & 1 li. 6s. 10d.

Seven aikers of Cultrey set to Bayn for 53s. 4d. and 14 puld.

Six aikers of Cultrey &c. set to Barclatt for 46s. and 12 puld.

The lands of Corbe and Corbehill and 8 aikers adjacent &

teinds included w^t fishings &c. set to Lermouth of Balcomie for 10 li. 32 bolls bear 26 bolls of meill or 8 m. per chalder—inde 29 li. 6s. 8d.

The lands of Wester [or] little Kinneir set to Patersone for feu and augm. 14 l. 8s. 4d.

Certain lands in y^e toune and territory of Carrail set to Lumsden for 8s. 4d.

The lands of Gastoun set to Wood of Largo's son for 3 l. 6s. 8d.

The lands of Gadroon [Gadvan?] with housse set to Beaton of Creich for 6 l. 13s. 4d.

The lands of the toune of Johnestoun set to the Laird of Creich for 12 capons & 17 li. 6s. 8d.

The lands of Craigfood with mansion &c. in y^e barony of pitgorno set to Douglass of Lochleavin for 14 capons & 13 l. 6s. 8d.

The halfe toune and lands of Kinraigie w^t Mansion house set to Maxwell for 8 capons & 8 li.

The halfe lands of Kinraigy in y^e barony of pitgorno set to Allardice for 8 capons & 8 li.

The lands of Steidmureland viz. y^e hail halfe of y^e same w^t tenements &c. in y^e barony of pitgorno set to Seaton for 3 puld. & 3 li.

Ane piece land w^t house &c. w^t y^e aiker or lands of y^e chapell of St Mary y^e Virgin of den (?) lying besyde y^e Gaitsyd in y^e barony of Pitgorno Lop. of Balmerinoth and set to Eliz^a Beaton for 4s. 4d.

The Lands of Drumdell with Mansion &c. in y^e barony of Pitgorno set to Lundie of Balgonie for 10 li.

The Lands of Carpullie lying betwixt the lands of dunmuir and Quarrelhop on the ane and o^r parts set to Cant for 2 l. 13s. 4d. and 6 capons.

The lands of Lochymilne w^t the milne and loch y^e of lying in y^e barony of Abernethie set to Young for 12 puld. & 6 l. 13s. 4d.

II. IN THE COUNTY OF FORFAR.

The lands of Wodhill set to Auchinleck of Wodsyd for 12 capons & 12 pult. & 17 l. 6s. 8d.

The lands of Godhall and teinds included and ane acker of land

occupied be umq^{le} And. Shepherd In ye barony of Barrie set in feu to Gordon for 8 l. 13s. 4d.

The 3^d part of Balskellie w^t housses &c. In the barony of Barrie set to Strathachin for 6 l. 6s. 8d. & 16 capons.

The 3^d part of Balskelly set to Carnegie of Kynnaired for 6 li.

The peice of land called Leyis croft and burtons croft In y^e barony of Barrie set to Auchinleck of Coitsyd for 30s. 12 puld. & 6 geise.

The salmon fishing of fferry durris called y^e west frink (?) lying on y^e northsyd of Taywater set to Lovell of Ballumbies son for 7 li. w^t 8s. 4d. of augmentatione.

The lands called Coitwalls and 2 ackers of land in Coitsyd held feu for 40s. and 6 puld.

Easter Coitsyd wester Coitsyd preistmeadow Lowis croft largos croft St. Stevens croft and peice of land called Dansbank set to Auchinleck for 12 li. 15s. 8d. & 12 geise.

Halfe of y^e lands of Ravensbie w^t y^e p^{te} & teind sheaves for 5 li. of maill and 46s. 8d. in augmentation. And y^e 3^d part of y^e lands of y^e town of Baskelly In y^e barony of Barrie for 4 li. 8s. 2d. 16 capons & 31s. 10d. of augm. set to Cant ext. in haill to 13 li. 6s. 8d. 16 capons.

The halflands of Ravinsbie & 4th part of y^e lands of Links of Barrie In y^e barrony of Barrie set to Cant of Cowbyre for 17 li. 16s. 8d.

The nethermilne and lands y^{of} w^t y^e halfe of y^e multures & teind multure corne of y^e hail barronie of Barrie set to Gilseott for 7 li. 6. 8. 12 geise & half ane aiker of Haywinning.

15 aikers of land in Badhill piece land called Salterscroft & overmidow w^t teinds set to Cant for 5 li. 30 puld. & 1 acker of Haywinning.

The halfe lands of y^e Links of Barrie w^t teinds of ye lands of Buddon links y^{of} and teinds set to florestor for 27 li. 13s. 4d.

The 3^d part of Grange of Barrie set to Rolland for 6 li. & 12 capons.

The 3^d part of y^e town and lands y^{of}. set to him for 12 li. and 24 capons.

The lands of Links of Barrie w^t y^e ptinents viz. The half of the lands of Saltgerse *alias* Shepherds lands the halfe of 4 aikers called Bowmans lands the halfe lands called Corsefauld Halfe lands called Ryfaulds and half of the walleys and pasturage The

halfe of y^e tofts barns &c. w^t y^e teinds &c. And Cowbyre w^t y^e meadow & teyndis y^e of except y^e teinds due to the vicar Set to Cant for viz. ffor y^e links 20 li. & 20 s. of aug. Cowbyre 6 li. 13s. 4d. & 6s. 8d. *Inde* 28 li.

Thrie ackers of land of Barrie with housses and croft called St. Merinos croft lyand besyde y^e lands of Kirkton of Barrie set to fforester for 17s. And sustaining yearly bread & wyne to the high altar of y^e paroch church of Barrie.

The lands of Baddihill w^t housses set to Gray for 4 li. 8s.

The halfe lands of Ravinsbie & Cruikhill (?) w^t the corn milne of Barrie milne lands & half miltur of y^e barony of Barrie set to Clerk for 17 li. 13s. 4d. 12 geise 6 puld. half ane acker of Hay-winning.

Certain aikers besyde the Kirk of Barrie Burnsyde The aiker called Murgall &c. & teinds included set to Auchinleck for 6s. 8d. & 6 bolls 6 (?) firlots bear.

The two part of Grange of Barrie 10s. land of ye same 9 aikers of badihill And toun and lands of Carnusie set to fairny for 25 li. 2s. 24 capons 20 puld.

ffour aikers of land of Milneden w^t priviledge of Baking & brewing set to Rankin for 36s. 8d. 8 puld. half ane aiker of Hay-winning.

The haill reid fish fishing of y^e barony of Barrie set to Lesslie for 47 lib.

ffour aikers of land & ane halfe of y^e lands of Barrie q^u W^m fforester sometyme occupied set to Johnstoun for 40s. & 6 puld.

III. IN THE COUNTY OF PERTH.

The halfe lands of Nether Aberargie w^t the mansiones housses tofts crofts & y^r p^l with ane tennement and yeards lyand on the northe p^t of the street of Abernethie In the reg. of Abernethie & sheriffdome of perth set to peter Carmichill in Dron for 8 lib.

The lands of over and west polgaigny (?) with y^e pertinents set to Iohn Weymes bro^r germane to Patrick Weymes of petbla for 6 lib. 13s. 4d. cappones 12.

The fishings of Stocking garth with the p^l upon the watter of Tay set to James Campbell of lawers exd. in meall to 40 lib. aug. 10 lib. *Inde* 50 lib.

No. X.

VALUATION of the TEMPORAL LANDS of the ABBACY OF
BALMERINOCHE, within the Shire of Fife, in 1596; according
to the "OLD EXTENT."

[From Thomson's "Inquisitionum Retornatorum Abbreviatio,"
in 3 vols. fol.; 1811.]

[There is probable evidence that lands in Scotland were "extended," or valued, as early as the time of William the Lion; but the first general valuation is understood to have been made in the reign of Alexander III., for the purpose of raising a tax to pay a tocher of 14,000 merks sterling to the Princess Margaret on her marriage to Eric, King of Norway. This was afterwards called the "Old Extent." Another valuation, called the "New Extent," was made in 1424, for raising £30,000 sterling for the liberation of James I. from his nineteen years' captivity in England. The Old Extent, however, continued as the rule for proportioning the public taxes till, at least, 1633, in which year a tax of thirty shillings was imposed on every pound-land of Old Extent. Other valuations were afterwards made, the rent fixed by which is called the Valued Rent, in contradistinction both to the Old, and the New Extent. (See Appendix, No. XVI.)

The following Valuation was made at Cupar on the 2d of February 1596 by the Sheriff and a jury, in consequence of a petition presented to the Lords of Council by the feuars of the Abbey lands, praying that their land smight be *retoured*, so that they might know what *pound-land* or *merk-land* their several possessions extended to, and that they might pay their taxes according to the rate of other pound-lands of Old Extent. The Return, of course, represents not the real value of the lands *at that time*, but only their relative value, or the proportion according to which public taxes should be imposed on them. In the original the entries are made in this form:—"Lands of New Grange &c. extend to £5, 6s. 8d. land."]

Lands of New Grange of Balmerinoch, with pendicles and pertinents,	£5 6 8
„ Corbie, Corbiehill, with the wood of Balmerinoch, with pendicles and per- tinents,	1 6 8
„ Deminche Park, Pointrik, and 3d part of lands of Boddumcraig, belonging to David Wilson,	0 10 0
„ Boddumcraig, with 8 acres belonging to William Ballingall,	0 13 4
„ Kirkton of Balmerinoch,	1 6 8
„ Coutray, extending to 46 acres of arable land,	0 15 4
„ Pitmossie, extending to 5 acres of land,	0 1 8
„ Bandene, „ 12 „	0 4 0
„ Bangoiff, „ 13 „	0 4 4
„ Duchrone, „ 30 acres of arable land,	0 10 0
„ Kilburnis and Scrogieside, 21 acres of land,	0 7 0
„ Scur, extending to 11 acres of land,	0 3 8
„ Infield of Boddumcraig, extending to 26 acres of land,	0 8 8
„ Byres of Balmerinoch, extending to 30 acres of arable land,	0 10 0
„ Craigfod,	1 6 8
„ Johnestoun and Gadwen,	1 6 8
„ Gawstoun,	0 10 0
„ Drumdeill,	0 13 4
„ Pitgorno,	2 13 4
„ Freirmylne,	0 13 4
„ Kincraigie,	1 6 8
„ Steidmuirland,	0 10 0
Lands and mylne of Lochmylne,	0 10 0
Lands of Carpullie,	0 6 8
„ Little Kinneir, with their pertinents,	1 6 8

£23 11 4*

* A copy of this document was kindly procured for the Author by William Pagan, Esq. of Claytoun.

This valuation does not include the Abbey precincts, gardens, &c., which belonged to the *spirituality*. Sibbald's History of Fife contains a Return of the Old Extent of Fife in 1517. The following *items* extracted from it, together with the above valuation of the Abbey lands, complete the Old Extent of this parish, excepting the Abbey precincts, &c., and Cathills.

The barony of Nachtown in property, . . .	£8 0 0
The Laird of Kinnaird's lands, and the annual in property, within the barony of Nachtown, . . .	8 0 0

No. XI.

PETER HAY'S ADDRESS TO KING JAMES VI.

[Referred to at page 272.]

EPIGRAMMA AD REGEM.

Cui decus immortale triplex, cuique aurea cingit
 Gloria conspicuum, Rex Jacobe, caput.
 Prima tibi antiquae fidei quum cura tuendae,
 Proxima sit populi paxque salusque tui:
 Procurat quod utrumque lubens, quod promovet ultro,
 Quid tibi servitio grātius esse queat:
 Tale ministerium libro hoc tibi praestat et offert
 Hayus, ab antiquis nobile germen avis:
 Quemque suo regem populo caput, et caput unum
 Dum Christum omnigenis gentibus esse probat:
 Parendum his solum, invictis rationibus urget,
 Quas monumenta Patrum, sacraque scripta ferunt:
 Et fugienda lupae Babilonis pocula suadet,
 Et quae seditio turbida monstra parit:
 Palantesque reducit oves ad ovile, rebelles
 Et populos regum flectit ad obsequium:

Dignum opus ingenio domini, quo munere verum
 Christigenam, et civem se probat esse bonum :
 Dignum opus aeterno genio quoque, quem dabit, O Rex,
 Aspirans sacri numinis aura tui.

HAEC M. E. D.

Which may be thus translated :—

King James ! whom threefold sov'reignty invests
 With deathless honour, and whose head, in view
 Of all, is with refulgent glory crowned ;
 Since thy first care 's to shield the ancient faith,
 Thy next, to guard thy people's peace and weal ;
 What service can more grateful be to thee
 Than willing efforts to promote these aims ?
 Such service, in this book, a Hay presents,
 The noble scion of an ancient line.
 He shows each king to be his people's head,
 And Christ the King of all the tribes of earth ;
 And proves from Scripture and Patristic tomes
 That his commands alone must be obeyed ;
 Dissuades from cups of wolfish Babylon,
 And monsters which Sedition, restless, breeds ;
 Brings back the wandering sheep, and moves
 Rebellious nations to obey their kings—
 Fit task for master's skill, whereby he proves
 Himself a Christian and good citizen—
 Fit task for deathless genius, which, O king !
 Thy sacred approbation shall confer.

No. XII.

TAXT ROLL OF THE ABBACYE OF BALMERINOCHE ilk p^d free rent taxt to 1617.

[MS. Harl. Mus. Brit. 4623, Part II. Art. 17, Fo. 103. Here
 printed from the "Chartulary of Balmerino;" App. No.; XII.]

Grange,	.	.	£48	0	0	Halfe Lands of Kirkton,
Corbie,	.	.	12	0	0	posest by Rob ^t Fyfe, £9 10 0

The oy ^r halfe y ^o f.,	£6	10	0	Ravensbye,	£10	0	0
Deminge,	6	0	0	Pitakellye,	15	0	0
Jonstoun and Gadden,	16	0	0	Carnushe,	5	0	0
Lochmilne,	3	0	0	Ackers of Barrie Nether			
Third part of Corbsy,	3	5	0	and over Barrie			
Carpowie,	4	10	0	muireas,	20	0	0
Craigfod,	10	0	0	Teynds of Barrie,	17	10	0
Drumdeill,	10	0	0	Teynds of y ^e Kirk of			
Pitgorno,	14	0	0	Balmerinoch,	40	0	0
Friermyle,	5	0	0	Teynds of Logie Kirk,	20	0	0
Kincraigie,	15	0	0	Fishing of y ^e Gall of			
Nether Aberargie,	2	0	0	Barry,	5	0	0
Pilgrummies,	7	0	0	Cathills, and fishing			
Little Kinneir,	10	0	0	y ^o f.,	7	0	0
Gastoun,	4	0	0	Fishings of Corbie,	0	10	0
Woodhill,	20	0	0	Fishings of Barnden,	0	10	0
Cootayde,	6	0	0	Fishings of Paldnant,			
Grange of Barry,	12	0	0	Stok, and Garth,	16	0	0

Sub^d by 9 prinⁿ Fewars and y^e Chamberlaine.

No. XIII.

EXCERPT from COPY RENTAL of the FEU-DUTIES of the BARONY of BALMERINO, in Sederunt-Book of High Commission in Teind Office, page 28.

[This Rental was given in by Lord Balmerino to the Commissioners for the Valuation of Teinds, in consequence of a Decreet-Arbitral pronounced by Charles I., proceeding upon submissions by the Lords of Erection, regarding the surrender of the superiorities of Church Lands. (See the historians of the period.) The Decreet-Arbitral in regard to *teinds* has been noticed at page 187. This document is here printed from the "Closed Record," &c., quoted at page 265.]

Apud Edinburgh 20 die mensis Maii 1630.

The qlk day compeired Johne Bannatyne Depute to the Justice Clerk in name of John Lord Balmerinoch and James Lord Cowper and gave in the Rentalls underwritin, of the qlks the tennour follows:—

The trew and just Rentall of the few (fere) fermes and few maillis and other constant Rent of the Superiorities of Balmerinoch comprehending the Baroneis of Balmerinoch Pitgormo and Barrie.

THE BARONIE OF BALMERINOC.

Agnes Gibson Lyferenter and Alexander Barbour heritour of the South Syde of the Kirktown of Balmerinoch with the Teinds included pay of few dewtie yeirlie . . . 13^{lb}. 6^s. 8^d.

Mr Peter Hay of Naughton for the North side thairof with the Teinds included . . . 3^{lb}. 13^s. 6^d.

Item of beir . . . 13 bollis.

Item of oate meale . . . 13 bollis.

Item of hors corne . . . 4 bollis.

Item of straw . . . 4 turse.

Andro Glasfurde of Boddomcraig for the haill lands thairof payes of fewdewtie . . . 57^s.

Item of wheat . . . 1 boll 2 firlots.

„ of beir . . . 7 bolls 2 firlots 2 peckes.

„ of oate meale . . . 5 bolls 2 peckes.

„ of hors corne . . . 3 bollis.

„ of straw . . . 3 turse.

Mr Peter Hay of Naughton for the east haffe of the Grange of Balmerinoch with the teinds included payes yeirlie 37^{lb}. 10^s. 8^d.

Item of wheat . . . 4 bollis.

„ of beir . . . 9 bollis.

„ of oate meale . . . 8 bollis.

Michael Balfoure payeth for the three quarters of the West side thairof of few dewtie . . . 24^{lb}.

Mr Robert Auchinmowtie of Deming payeth for his Soueth quarter of the said West haffe thairof with the teindis included . . . 12^{lb}. 6^s. 8^d.

Item of wheat 1 boll.
 „ of beare, 2 bollia.
 „ of oate meale, 2 bollia.

John Leslie of Newton payes for his Landes of Corby wth the
 Teinds included 42^{ub}. 13^s. 4^d.

Mr Ro^t Auchinmowtie for his lands of Deminge park and
 Poyntok payeth of fewdewtie 57^s.

Item of Powtrie 8

Mr Peter Hay for his lands and fishing of Cathill payeth of
 fewdewtie 31^{ub}. 4^s. 4^d.

The Laird of Creich for his lands of Johnestoun and Gaddan
 payeth of fewdewtie 34^{ub}.

Item of capouns 1 dozoun.

Andro Patersons of Over Dinmure for his lands of Little Kyn-
 neir payeth of fewdewtie 24^{ub}.

The few dewteis of the aikers within the parochin of Balmer-
 inoch—

viz, SKUR ellevin aikers.

Whereof Mr James Douglas of Stanypeth hes sax, paying of
 fewdewtie 46^s.

Item of powtrie 12

James Barlatt hath fyve for 38^s. 4^d.

Item of powtrie 10

SCROGGIESIDE, sax aikers.

Hew Scott payeth for them of few dewtie 46^s.

Item of powtrie 12

KILBURNES, fyftene aikers, whereof—

Alexander Prestoun hath eight aikers, paying . . . 3^{ub}. 10^s.

Item of powtrie 16

Andro Small hes aires hes sevin, paying 53^s. 8^d.

Item of powtrie 14

BODOMECRAIG, 36 aikers, whereof—

Andro Glasfurde hes twentie aikers halffe aiker, paying thairfor
 yearlie 7^{ub}. 17^s. 2^d.

Item of powtrie 41

Andrew Boyter in Dundie fyve, paying . . .	38 ^s . 4 ^d .
<i>Item of powtrie</i>	10
George Stirke of Bandene twa aikers, paying . . .	15 ^s . 4 ^d .
<i>Item of powtrie</i>	4
W ^m Watsoun his airis two, paying	15 ^s . 4 ^d .
<i>Item of powtrie</i>	4
Andro Galloway ane aiker, paying	7 ^s . 8 ^d .
<i>Item of powtrie</i>	2
Johne Roger halffe ane aiker, paying	3 ^s . 10 ^d .
<i>Item of powtrie</i>	1
The airis of umq ^{le} W ^m Patersoun } for a toft there }	2 dozoun of chickens-
<i>Item of powtrie</i>	1

DOUCHRON, 32 aikers, whair of

Mr Peter Hay hes saxtein, paying	6 th . 2 ^s . 8 ^d .
<i>Item of powtrie</i>	32
George Stirke of Bandene three, paying	23 ^s .
<i>Item of powtrie</i>	6
Williame Bane of Pitmossie three, paying	23 ^s .
<i>Item of powtrie</i>	6
The airis of James Watsoun two, paying	15 ^s . 4 ^d .
<i>Item of powtrie</i>	4
The airis of Henrie Mitchell aucht, paying	3 th . 1 ^s . 4 ^d .
<i>Item of powtrie</i>	16

BANGOVE, thretten aikers, belonging to

Mr Peter Hay of Naughton and paying	4 th . 19 ^s . 8 ^d .
<i>Item of powtrie</i>	26

BANDENE, 12 aikers, belonging to

George Stirke, paying	4 th . 12 ^s .
<i>Item of geis</i>	6

PITMOSSIE, fyve aikers, belonging to

William Bane elder, paying	40 ^s .
<i>Item of powtrie</i>	10

COULTRA, 50 aikers, whair of

Mr Peter Hay has foure aikers, paying	30 ^s . 8 ^d .
Item of powtrie 8	
Willame Bane younger has ten aikers, paying thairfoir	
yeirlie	3 ^{ub} . 16 ^s . 8 ^d .
Item of powtrie 20	
Christiane Stirk ten aikers, paying	3 ^{ub} . 16 ^s . 8 ^d .
Item of powtrie 20	
John Mitchell nyne aikers and ane haffe, paying	3 ^{ub} . 12 ^s . 10 ^d .
Item of powtrie 19	
Agnes Derny 13 aikers, paying	4 ^{ub} . 19 ^s . 8 ^d .
Item of powtrie 26	
Alexander Simpsoun three aikers and ane halffe aiker,	
paying	26 ^s . 10 ^d .
Item of powtrie 7	

THE BYRES, 16 aikers, whereof

Mr Peter Hay hath three, paying	23 ^s .
Item of powtrie 6	
Mr Robert Auchinmoutie foure, paying	30 ^s . 8 ^d .
Item of powtrie 8	
John Stanehous in Luthrie foure, paying	3 ^{ub} . 4 ^s .
Item of powtrie 8	
Item he hath another aiker holdin blenche.	
Robert Brabawar foure aikers, paying	30 ^s . 8 ^d .
Item of powtrie 8	

No. XIV.

VALUATIONS OF THE TEINDS OF THE PARISH OF
BALMERINOCHE, 13th July 1631.

[From Certified Copy.]

(Referred to at page 189.)

[These valuations show also the rental, or, at least, the *estimated* annual value, in 1631, of the lands named in them. They are here printed from the "Closed Record" &c. quoted at page 265.]

PETER HAY.

Peter Hay of Naughtoun heretable proprietor of threttie-six aikers, viz. 16 aikers of Womgois [Duchrone?], 13 aikers of Duchrome [Bangove?] 4 aikers of Cowtray, and 3 aikers of Byris of Balmerinloch. Constant rent in stok and teynd — fyve firlots beir ilk aiker=45 bolls beir.

Inde y^e teynd is 9 bollis beir.

GEORGE STIRK.

George Stirk heretor of twell aikers of land in Banden twa aikers in Boddumcraig and thrie aikers in Duchray.

12 aikers of Banden ilk aiker in stok and teynd 7 firlots beir.

3 aikers in Duchray ilk aiker 6 firlots beir, and

2 aikers in Boddumcraig ilk aiker 6 firlots bear.

Inde y^e teynd 5 bollis 2 firlots 3 pekes $\frac{1}{2}$ peke bear.

WILLIAM BAYNE ELDER.

5 aikers of Pitmossie at 7 firlots ilk aiker of bear in stok and teynd.

3 aikers in Duchray and 3 aikers $\frac{1}{2}$ aiker in Coutrey ilk aiker in stok and teynd is 6 firlots bear.

Inde y^e teynd — 3 bollis 2 firlots 3 pekes $\frac{1}{2}$ pek bear.

GEORGE JACK.

10 aikers of Cowtray ilk aiker stok and teynd 6 firlots bear.

Inde the teynd 3 bolls bear.

DAVID WATSOUNE.

6 acres of land in Cowtray and 2 in Deuchrone ilk aiker in stok and teynd 6 firlots bear.

Inde y^e teynd 2 bollis 1 firlot 2 pekes $\frac{1}{2}$ 3 pekes bear.

ANDRO GLASFURD.

The lands of Boddumcraig and Drumharie two pairt and third pairt called the Husbandrie and 20 aikers and $\frac{1}{2}$ aiker of land lyand in Boddumcraig and Scorbank belonging thereto and these 8 aikers of land lyand in Drumharie and Deuchrone in stok and teynd 4 chald. victuall twa pairt meal & third pairt bear.

Inde the teynd 12 bollis 3 firlots $\frac{1}{2}$ firlot victuall quhairof 4 bollis 1 firlot $\frac{1}{2}$ of ye 3^d of an firlot bear and 8 bollis 2 firlots $\frac{1}{2}$ of 3^d of ane firlot meal.

WILLIAM BAYNE YOUNGER.

10 aikers of land in Cowtray ilk aiker valued stok and teynd to 6 firlots bear.

Inde y^e teynd 3 bollis bear.

DAVID PATTOUNE.

13 aikers of land in Cowtray ilk aiker in stok and teynd 6 firlots bear.

Inde y^e teynd — 3 bollis 3 firlots 2 pekes $\frac{1}{2}$ of 2 pekes bear.

ALEXANDER SIMSONE.

3 aikers $\frac{1}{2}$ aiker of land in Cowtray in stok and teynd ilk aiker 6 firlots.

Inde y^e teynd 1 boll $\frac{1}{2}$ firлот bear.

THOMAS GLEN.

2 aikers of land in Boddimcraig ilk aiker in stok & teynd 6 firlots 2 pekes bear.

Inde teynd 2 firlots 2 pekes $\frac{1}{2}$ of 2 pecks bear.

JAMES BARCLAY.

5 aikers of Skur ilk aiker in stok and teynd 7 firlots bear.

Inde y^e teynd 1 boll 3 firlots bear.

RO^t BRABNER.

4 aikers of ye Byres of Balmerino ilk aiker in stok & teynd 6 firlots bear.

Inde the teynd 1 boll 3 pecks $\frac{1}{2}$ peck bear.

JOHNE STENHOUSE.

5 aikers of land of the Byres of Balmerino ilk aiker in stok & teynd 6 firlots bear.

Inde the teynd 1 boll 1 firлот bear.

MARGARET TULLOIS.

1 aiker & $\frac{1}{2}$ aiker of land in Bodimcraig.

Teind — 10 merks of pennie maill & 2 firlots bear.

MITCHELL BALFOUR.

Half-lands of Newgrange valued in stok and teynd 10 chald.

victu^{ls} quhairof 8 bollis quheit 8½ chald. 8 bollis beir and 6 chald. aitts.

Inde the teynd is 2 chald. victuall quhairof 1 boll 2 firlots 2 pekes ½ of 2 fourpets quheit 9 bolls 2 firlots 1 peke 2 forpets ½ 2 fourpeots bear and 1 chald. 3 bollis 3 peks ½ pek aittis.

WILLIAM RAMSAY.

5 aikers of land lyand in Boddumcraig ilk aiker in stok and teynd 7 firlots bear.

Inde the teynd 2 bollis 1 firlot 3 pecks ⅔ peck bear.

ANDREW BOTTER'S AIRIS.

5 aikers of land in Boddumcraig ilk aiker in stok & teynd 7 firlots bear.

Inde y^e teynd 2 bollis 1 firlot 3 peks ½ pek bear.

[Mr Thomas Douglas, minister of Balmerino, appeared before the Commissioners of Teinds in the foregoing processes of valuation, and consented thereto. These valuations are also signed by "R. Law." But the following additions are in a different handwriting from the body of the record; are not signed by "R. Law;" and are not in the form of regular Decrets of Valuation.]

The personage teinds of the lands wⁱⁿ the parochin of Balmerinoch conforme to the present valuation of stock and teind joyntlie extendis to fyve chalders seven bolls ane firlot ane peke vicⁿ grof. thre scoir six bolls ane firlit three pecks three forpitts bear. *Item*, Ane boll twa firlots twa peckes quheat. *Item*, Nynteine bolls three peckes ane forpitt aitts. And this buy and attour the teinds of the other half of the lands of the Grange pertaining to the said Mr Peter Hay of Naughton q^{lk} was not valued being then alledgit be him that the s^d lands was fewit than *cum decimis inclusis* q^{lks} lands being of equall worth with the uther half lands pertaining to the said Mitchell Balfour ar estimat to be worth in stok and teind ten chalders vicⁿ of the spaces foresaid. *Inde*, The teynd is twa chalders vicⁿ.

Ite. Thair is in the said paroch threttie aikers of land pertaining to the s^d Lord Balmerinoch q^{lk} as zitt is not valued and is of the lyke goodness w^t y^e uther aikers of the said paroch and so

may be estimat w^t thame to be ilk alker six firlots bear. *Inde*,
The teind of the s^d aikers is nine bolls bear.

Summa of the haill personage teinds wⁱⁿ the said paroch extendis to aught chalders vicⁿ.

Qrof 3 bolls 3 pekes $\frac{1}{2}$ peke quheat.

Ite. 38 bolls 1 firlit 2 pekes : 2 forpits aittis.

Ite. 86 bolls 1 firlot 3 pekes 1 forpit and sum odes attis
[bear?].

[In 1637, a Decreet of Valuation of the parsonage teinds of Naughtane Peishills, Byrehills, Kirkhills, and Cathills, with their pertinents, Killukes [?] and Scrogieside, was pronounced by the Commissioners (the Archbishop of St Andrews compearing and consenting, but the minister of Forgan not being a party), whereby the teinds of these lands were declared to amount to four chalders, viz., 40 bolls oats, and 24 bolls bear. By a judgment of the Court of Session in 1858, the above valuation was held to include the teinds of Mains of Naughton, Gauldry, Brownhills, Gallowhills, Skur, and Kilburns, as portions of the barony of Naughton.

The teinds of Easter Grange, or Fincraigs, were not valued till 1832. Those of several portions of the Pariah appear to be still unvalued.]

No. XV.

STENT-ROLL of HERITORS' CONTRIBUTIONS for the
SCHOOLMASTER'S SALARY of a Hundred Merks, in
1658.

[From Kirk-Session Records.]

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Lord Balmerinloch	20	0	0	Grange . . .	6	6	8
Newton [Sir John				John Howison .	0	8	8
Leslie] for Corbie	5	4	0	Alexander Preston	0	10	8

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	£	s.	D.		£	s.	D.
Patrick Scott for				Marg ^t Watson .	0	6	8
Scurr and Scro-				David Paton .	0	6	8
gieside . .	0	18	0	John Bell . .	0	6	8
John Walker .	0	6	8	George Stirk .	1	4	0
John Tarbit .	0	7	6	The aires of Pitmossie	0	18	0
William Guthrie .	0	7	6	Christian Glen .	0	9	0
John Glasfuid .	2	8	0	Andrew Rawit .	0	3	4
Rebecca Swinton .	0	10	0	Agnes Rodger .	0	0	6
George Jack . .	1	7	0	Naughtone . .	24	0	0
Elspe ^t Kairns .	0	3	10				
				Summa (Scots Money)	66	13	4

No. XVI.

FARMERS AND RENTAL OF THE PARISH IN 1694.*

[Referred to at page 234.]

[From the Revaluation or Valued Rent of Fife in the Sheriff-Clerk's Office. The rents were then paid in the value of certain quantities of grain, which we have here reduced to sterling money, according to the prices assumed by the Commissioners, viz.:—The chalder of wheat, £5 11s. 1½d; the chalder of bear, £4; the chalder of oats, £3 1s. 8d.; the chalder of meal, £3 6s. 8d.; the chalder of meal of miln rent, and black oats, £2 15s. 6½d. sterling; but given in Scots money in the original.]

CORBIE.

	£	s.	D.
William Blyth	25	15	0
Andrew Good, and Alexander Donaldson . . .	6	0	5½
David Ritchie, William Paterson, and Alison Ramsay	2	12	6
Salmon fishing	4	0	0
Total	38	7	11½

* The Author has to thank Thomas Barclay, Esq., Sheriff-Clerk of Fife, for permitting him to copy the document of which the substance is here given; and to consult other Records in his custody.

GRANGE BALFOUR.

	£	s.	d.
Thomas Duncan, and John Blyth	44	13	7
John Gregory	4	6	8
William Honeyman, and James Kinnear . . .	1	12	1½
Total	50	12	4½

AIRDITT FOR* SCUR AND SCROGIESIDE.

Rent thereof	5	6	10
------------------------	---	---	----

BALLINDEAN.

Rent thereof	6	14	9
Five acres in Bottomcraig	1	19	5½
Total	8	14	2½

NAUGHTON.

David Ramsay in Peasehills	50	14	5
David Ramsay in Mains of Naughton	40	15	6½
Andrew Kirkcaldy in Easter Grange	41	12	9
Ludovick Brown in Bangove	12	19	5
James Hutton in Gallowhill	6	12	9¾
James Stirk in Kilburns	3	3	1½
John Cowper, and David Ramsay	9	17	4
William Murdoch in Ducherone	4	10	10
John Black in Brewlands	2	0	0
John Smith in Cultra	1	15	5
John Walker in Highlands	1	12	8½
John Wyllie in Leadwells	2	10	0
John Huison in Bangove	1	0	0
Thomas Cupar in Byres	0	10	0
Alexander Preston (<i>teind</i>)	1	2	6
William Buist	0	6	7½
James Stirk in Scurr	8	11	3½
Total	189	14	9¼

* In a Summary of this Valuation given in Adamson's Ed. of Sibbald's History of Fife, Appendix No. VII., but there assigned to the year 1695, this line is erroneously printed thus:—"Airdit or Skur and Scrogieside," as if "Airdit" and "Skur" denoted the same place. "Airditt" stands for Douglas, laird of Airdit, in Logie Parish, who possessed a part of Scurr.

LORD BALMERINO.

	£	s.	d.
Rental of the Lordship of Balmerino . . .	96	9	7

ALEXANDER PRESTON'S PORTION OF KILBURNS.

Rent of his 8 acres	3	13	1½
-------------------------------	---	----	----

SMALL FEUARS.

David Jack [Cultra]	5	0	10
George Jack [Cultra]	6	6	3
James Duncan [Cultra]	2	5	5
John Bell [Cultra]	2	5	5
David Paton [Cultra]	0	3	10
John Gregory	2	0	5
William Bayne [Cultra]	1	2	8½
Andrew Rawitt [Dochrone]	0	17	8½
Andrew Gourlay	4	4	2½
Gray's Lands [Bottomcraig]	1	19	3
Tarbit's heirs [Bottomcraig]	1	19	3
James Anderson [Bottomcraig]	0	8	10
James Watson	2	0	5
Mr John Stenhouse [Byres]	3	8	1½
Mr Andrew Hedderwick [Boghall]	1	2	6
Total of small feuars	35	5	2

The Valued Rent of the several proprietors, as it stood in 1694, after deductions for feu-duties, minister's stipend, schoolmaster's salary, &c., was as follows, in Scots money:—

	£	s.	d.
Corbie	418	0	0
Grange Balfour	494	13	4
Laird of Airdit for Skur and Scrogysyd	54	6	8
Thomas Stark of Bandean	88	6	8
Peter Hay of Naughton	1900	0	0
Lord Balmerinoch	751	10	0
Alexander Preston's portion of Kilburns	25	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Small feuars	358	13	4
Summa	4085	10	0
In Sterling money	340	9	2

The valued Rent of the Parish, according to which Schoolmaster's salary, and usually the cost of the erection and repair of the Parish Church, Manse, and Schoolhouse are still paid, stands at present, in consequence of changes of proprietorship, as follows:

	£	s.	d.
Naughton	2080	7	9
Birkhill	1006	18	3
Balmerino	923	13	0
Ballindean	88	6	8
Cultra (George Henderson)	31	14	2
Bottomcraig (Elizabeth Anderson) . .	4	10	2
Total in Scots Money	4085	10	0

The Valuation Roll of the County of Fife for the year 1864-5, recently published, contains a list of all the then existing proprietors, tenants, rents, and feu-duties of this Parish. It is unnecessary to insert it here. The gross Valuation of the Parish for 1864-5 amounted to £6,996 Sterling.

No. XVII.

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS TO VOLUNTARY STIPEND FOR THE ASSISTANT-MINISTER IN 1717.

[Referred to at page 238. The sums are in Scots money.]

I.—HERITORS.

	£	s.	d.
Mr Robert Hay of Nachtone	33	06	08
Alexander Alison of Birchhill	20	00	00

	£	s.	d.
Thomas Stark of Bandean	06	13	04
George Jack, portioner of Coultra	06	13	04
Alexander Preston, portioner of Kilburns	02	00	00
James Kirk, portioner of Cultra	01	00	00
James Paton, portioner there	00	12	00
James Bell, portioner there	00	13	04
Margaret Potie, portioner there	01	00	00
Mrs Duddingstone of Pitmossie	01	00	00
James Anderson, portioner of Bottomcraig	00	12	00
Nachtane desires to be added to him, because he has his lands of Easter Grange in his own hands . .	08	05	04
Summa of Heritors	76	16	00

II.—THE GROUND OF BIRCHHILL.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
John Mores	01	10	00	George Whyt	00	12	00
David Meldrum	00	16	00	Robert Barclay	08	00	00
James Anderson	01	04	00	Gilbert Gardener	01	00	00
John Glass	00	14	00	Robert Reid	01	00	00
James Henderson	01	00	00	John Donaldson	01	04	00
John Farmer	00	12	00	James Winton	00	12	00
David Dryburn	00	12	00				
Elspet Kircaldy	00	12	00	Summa is	14	08	00

III.—CULTRA.

Thomas Glass	01	00	00	William Duncan	00	10	00
James Patie	01	00	00	John M'Gregor	01	00	00
John Smith	00	14	00				
				Summa is	04	04	00

IV.—THE GROUND OF GRANGE.

John Kinnear	01	00	00	John Paterson	01	00	00
George Walker	00	13	04	William M'Pherson	01	00	00
James Kinnear	00	12	00	David Honeyman	01	00	00
John Kinnear, younger,	00	12	00	Summa is	05	17	04

V.—THE GROUND OF BALMERINO.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Margaret Kirkaldy	02	00	00	George Rentowll	00	12	00
James Colvill .	01	00	00	Andrew Duncan	01	00	00
David Clerk .	01	00	00	John Fowlis .	01	00	00
Robert Smith .	01	04	00	David Adamson	01	00	00
Alex ^r Gregory	01	00	00	Christian Gregory	00	12	00
Thomas Rentowll	01	10	00	Andrew Lealy	01	00	00
David Johnstone	00	12	00	Thomas Shepherd	01	00	00
James Ogilvie .	00	12	00	Henry Boyd .	01	00	00
Charles Henderson	01	00	00	William Richie	00	12	00
James Kinnear	00	12	00	Alex ^r Bruceason	01	00	00
Margaret Robertson	00	12	00	James Tough .	00	12	00
John Patrick .	01	00	00	John Ramsay .	00	10	00
John Boyd .	01	10	00	David Anderson	01	00	00
David Scott .	01	00	00				
John Rentowll	01	10	00	Summa is	27	00	00

VI.—THE GROUND OF NACHTANE.

David Ramsay	06	00	00	Arthur Wyllie	01	10	00
William Lumsden	04	00	00	William Donaldson	01	10	00
Alexander Baxter	00	18	00	John Spindy .	01	10	00
James Mitchell	00	06	00	John Espline .	00	12	00
James Jack .	00	12	00	Andrew Symson	00	12	00
William Dorrett	00	06	00	David Duncan .	00	12	00
John Black .	02	08	00	George Nicoll .	00	12	00
William Murdoch	01	00	00	Alex ^r Henderson	00	18	00
Walter Ramsay	00	12	00	Alex ^r Finlay .	01	04	00
John Kirkaldy	00	12	00	John Ogilvie .	00	12	00
James Paterson	01	00	00	John Nicol .	00	12	00
John Cupar .	00	12	00	James Kirk .	01	00	00
Helen Patie .	00	06	00	David Tullice .	00	12	00
William Duncan	01	04	00	David Myles .	00	12	00
James Kirkaldy	03	00	00	Henry Mitchell	01	00	00
John Duncan .	00	12	00	George Brown .	01	00	00
Alex ^r Barclay .	00	04	00				
Robert Hardy .	00	06	00	Summa is	38	06	00

Sum of the whole, £166, 11s. 4d. Scots.

Lord Balmerino gave nothing. The Laird of Grange "refused to meddle in this affair." Non-resident heritors were Mr. James Gray of Bulzeon, residing in Dundee, and Mrs Mary Hedderwick.

No. XVIII.

FARMERS AND RENTAL OF NAUGHTON ESTATE in 1812.

[As given in to the Court of Teinds by the late Mr Morison.]

		£	s.	d.
Fincraigs, . . .	John Inglis, . . .	410	0	0
Peasehills, . . .	George Melville, . . .	600	0	0
Little Inch, . . .	George Johnston, . . .	219	16	10
Boiling House, . . .	Messrs. Littles, . . .	72	0	0
Mains, in Naughton's own hand, . . .		70	0	0
Kilburns, . . .	Andrew Pitcairns, . . .	200	0	0
Sown Bank, . . .	Mr Thomson, . . .	30	0	0
Galdry, . . .	William Henderson, . . .	70	10	0
Do.	James Dewar, . . .	20	0	0
Other lands in Galdry, viz. George Smith's, William				
Duncan's, and John Murdoch's, . . .				
		14	0	0
Gallowhill, . . .	Andrew Hutton, . . .	45	0	0
Balgoive, . . .	David Meldrum, . . .	4	4	0
Kirkton, . . .	David Donald, . . .	7	16	0
West Scurr, . . .	Alex ^r Henderson, . . .	12	0	0
Small Feus,	41	0	0
Total, . . .		£1816	6	10

No. XIX.

POPULATION OF THE PARISH.

In 1755, . . .	565	In 1837, . . .	1070
1791, . . .	703	1841, . . .	993
1801, . . .	786	1851, . . .	945
1811, . . .	921	1858, . . .	895
1821, . . .	965	1861, . . .	815
1831, . . .	1055	1866, . . .	745

No. XX.

SOME OF THE VARIATIONS IN THE SPELLING OF
BALMERINO AND NAUGHTON.

Abermoroenochtum	Balmerinoth	Balmurinoth
Balmurynach	Bamirinoth	Balmirrino
Balmurinach	Balmerinath	Balmarino
Balmerynach	Balmernoct	Balmuraeum
Balmerinach	Balmurinoche	Balmorynaucht
Balmorynach	Balmirnoch	Balmerynot
Balmorinach	Balmurynoth	Bawmerynot
Balmwrynach	Bamarinoth	Balmirrieno
Balmerinauch	Balmorenogh	Balmirrienoeche
Balmarinac	Balmirrynoche	Balmerinoch
Balmorinac	Balmarinoch	Balmerino
Balmoryne	Balmerinoche	Bamirnie
	&c.	
Hyatnachten Mach- hirb	Adhenauthen	Athnathtan
Hadnachten	Adnauthen	Athnacht
Hadnachten	Adnectan	Authnathan
Hadnachten	Adynahten	Atnathan
Ardnaughton	Adnauthan	Atnauthan
Adnachten	Adnacht	Naughtoune
Adnachtan	Adanauhtan	Nachtoun
Adanachtin	Adnathen	Nachtane
Adenauhtan	Adnaughtan	Nachtan
Adanauthan	Athnauthan	Naughton
Adanauthin	Athenachten	Naughton
Adenacthen	Athenacuthen	&c.

No. XXI.

SITUATION OF PLACES NOT NOW INHABITED, OR
WHOSE NAMES ARE DISUSED.

Cathills, or *Cattcraigs*, north-east of Kilburns. *Scroggieside*, west of Kilburns. *East*, *West*, and *Mid Scur*, south of Scroggie-

side. *Hay's Hill*, north of Naughton Castle. *Kirkhills* and *Byrehills*, on the present farm of Peasehills. *Brownhills*, between Naughton and Gauldry. *Middleshed*, south from Kilburns, on the summit of the ridge. *Gaitsyde of Naughton*, and *Cauldside*, situation unknown. *Balgove*, or *Bangove*, south-west of Gauldry, near the crest of the hill, inhabited till a few years ago. *Pitmosste*, south-east of Fincraigs, near the foot of the hill, also recently inhabited. *Doll*, south-west of Grange, near the boundary of the parish, where there were houses within thirty years ago. Houses at *East Grange*, now removed. *Boghall*, north-east of Bottomcraig, at the foot of Scurrbank. Fifty years ago *Bottomcraig farm-house and steading* stood north of the present Manse. *Newbigging*, west from the Manse, on the south side of the public road. It had 13 acres of land attached to it, and was inhabited till recently. *Little Ley*, south from Bottomcraig, on the north slope of the hill, bounded by lands of Naughton on the east. *Drumcharry*, south and west of Bottomcraig, on the north slope of the hill. *Dochrone*, 32 acres, south and west from Gauldry. *Battlelaw*, west of Dochrone. *Cleikamscleuch* (sometimes written *Cleikanniscleuch*), west and south of Battlelaw. *Crossfaulds*, between this last place and Priorwell, and south of Leadwells. *Byrescroft*, west of Drumcharry. *Leadwells*, south of Byres, and between the two roads leading up the hill. Fifty years ago, and afterwards, Leadwells was a farm 29 acres in extent. The last tenant's name was Barclay, who asserted that his family had lived there several hundred years. *Harlands*, west of Byres, running from Birkhill road south to the foot of the hill. *Woodflat*, north-west of Byres, near Barnden. *Barnden-burn* probably that sometimes called *Poyntok-burn*, the boundary between Birkhill and Balmerino estates. *Barncroft*, west from the Green of Balmerino. *Barnyards*, about the same locality. *The Green of Balmerino*, west of the Abbey Place. *The Flott*, the field south of the present burying-ground. *Craighingrugie's fauld* was in the Outfield of Byres. *Park and Poyntok*, and *Craighingrugie's fauld*, were the same as that afterwards called *Demmings* or *Demmins*, which till a few years ago was a separate farm. Demmins formerly stood at the foot of the hill beneath Priorwell, and latterly close by the road leading to Birkhill, and on the south side of it. *Highlands*, near Demmins, on the north side of the road. *Hungerton*, situation un-

known. *Thornton*, though not specified in the older titles of Birkhill, is so named elsewhere in 1615. *Fincraigs* is not named in the old titles of Easter Grange. The first notice of it we have met with is in the year 1655. A few years ago a *large, and several small cottages*, which stood west of Birkhill farm-steading, were removed. The former had at one time been the residence of Mrs Gillespie of Mountquhanie (who was of the Birkhill family) during her widowhood. Several houses at *Priorwell*, where there was formerly a separate farm, have been lately disused. There were many years ago houses south-east of Little Inch, at the foot of the wooded hill. Down to the early part of this century there were two small farms, *North and South Kirkton*, whose houses and steadings stood east of the burying-ground. (Bleau's Atlas—the oldest Atlas of Scotland—of date 1662, vol. VI., contains some errors in the portion which shows this Parish. Thus it places *Byrehills* east of Wormit, and *Cathills* and *Brownhills* west of Gauldry. A place south-east from Little Inch it calls *Moorie*.)

No. XXII.

ETYMOLOGY OF NAMES OF PLACES.

Few things are more difficult—such are the effects of time in modifying both spelling and pronunciation—than to ascertain the origin and meaning of ancient names of places; and considering the absurdities into which writers, otherwise trustworthy, have fallen, while performing ingenious feats in etymology, we should have preferred—as the safer course—to leave the subject untouched. But that we may not appear to have altogether omitted this interesting branch of inquiry, we subjoin a few derivations, most of which have been suggested by other individuals, and none of which the discerning reader is expected to accept for more than he thinks they are worth!

Balmerino or *Balmurynach*, obviously of Gaelic origin, is said in the Old Statistical Account to mean *Sailors' Town*. Boece

calls it *Abermoroenochtum*; Lesley, *Balmuraeum*; and Fordun, *Habitaculum ad mare*, or *The habitation by the sea-side*, which would therefore seem to be the meaning of the word accepted in his day. Some have thought that the name may have been derived from St Marnoch—a view for which a good deal might be said. Others make it signify the *town of Mary*, to whom the Abbey was (afterwards) dedicated. *Corbie*, it may be confidently asserted, has no connection with the bird *Scoticé* so called! It is said in the Old Statistical Account to be composed of two Celtic words signifying *a den with birks*, which, a competent Gaelic scholar informs the author, is very probable. *Demmings*, now erroneously written *Demonds*, may be derived from dams or pools of water existing there in former times. A place near Arbroath called *Demmindale* is said to have such an origin. *Scurr* may be from *Scaur*, a rock. *Cultrach* may be derived from two Celtic words, meaning *the back of the oaks*. *Little Inch*—*inch* signifies, in Gaelic, *an island*. It is not improbable that this word *Little*, and also *Bottom* in *Bottomcraig* (sometimes written *Bodincraig*), are corruptions of quite different words now lost. (Witness *Cockburnspath*, locally pronounced *Coppersmith*). *Little Inch* appears to have been at one time nearly surrounded by a marsh. Of *Kirkhills* we can suggest no account, unless that the ancient chapel of Naughton was perhaps situated there. *Airdie Hill* is, apparently, derived from a Celtic word signifying *a height*. The syllable *Bal* in *Balgove* and *Balindean* means *a town or hamlet*: of the rest we can give no explanation. *Gauldry* was anciently written *Galuran*. Gaelic dictionaries give a similar word, *galluran*, as the name of the plant *wild Angelica*; but we shall not therefore leap to the conclusion that our village received its name from that plant! Nor do we suppose (as some have done) that it has any connection with the word *gallery*, though it is sometimes so spelt. There is another place in Forfarshire called *Gallery*. *Naughton* (See Appendix, No. XX.)—The fact that one or more of the Pictish kings were called *Nethan*, or *Nectan Mac Irb*, or *Nectan Hy Firb* (see Sibbald, App. No. IX., and Robertson's "Scotland under her Early Kings," App. A.), may indicate a connection between them and Naughton, one of whose ancient names was *Hyatnachten Machhirb*. *Arднаughton* may mean the *stronghold* or *hill of Nectan*. *Cathills*: the first part of this name is said to signify in

Galic a *battle*, and may possibly refer to the incursions of the Danes, though such a derivation is not free from difficulty. A recent author supposes *Peasehills* to have been so called because the *terms of peace* with the Danes were, he thinks, there arranged; and suggests that the name should be changed to *Dunipace*, which he considers to mean *the hill of peace*. This derivation of *Peasehills* appears very improbable; and as to *Dunipace*, the best authorities trace that name to the Gaelic words *duin-na-bais*, or *the hill of death*, which would more likely be the meaning of *Peasehills* than *hill of peace*. Probably *Peasehills*, and even *Cathills*, may, like *Brownhills*, *Kirkhills*, and *Byrehills*, be English words, signifying just what they appear severally to express.

No. XXIII.

MR HUTTON'S LETTER.

[Referred to at page 147.]

[The following letter, describing the state of the Abbey ruins in 1789, was addressed by the Rev. Andrew Hutton, minister of Kilmany (who died in 1792), to General Hutton, whose extensive Collections on the Monasteries of Scotland are preserved in MS. in the Advocates' Library. The letter is contained in the volume for Fife, being Vol. VI. of the Collections. The same volume contains also two letters from Mr Alexander Melville, farmer at Peasehills, dated 1789 and 1801 respectively, and several other letters from Mr Hutton, to the General; but the following sentence in one of Mr Hutton's letters is all that is worth quoting:—"I went to Dunbog, and found that the place (where the mansion-house, the property of Sir Thomas Dundas [stands]) was formerly called Gadvan, a preceptory of Balmerinoch Abbey, wherein four monks did stately reside."]

"Kilmeny, 24th March, 1789.

"Sir,

"I hope you received by post, some time ago, a short letter from me in answer to your obliging favours of

the 30th January. Since Mrs Hutton's death (on the 18th last), I have been nowhere abroad, and for some weeks have been ailing much, but am better now. Meantime, I have been making what inquiries I could about the Abbey of Balmarinloch. On Saturday I received a charter given by the *Commendatarius* of the Monastery, dated August 1574. It's short and concise; wrote in Latin. The language (considering the time) I think is ornate, in so far as I can read it. There are so many contractions, and so many words defaced, that I can make but little of it; but such as are accustomed to read old writings (which I scarcely can) may understand the whole. The wax-seal appended to it distinctly bears the impression of the Virgin at full length, and the child in her arms. Its figure is oval; and round the margin, a motto in old saxon characters, which to me is illegible. What words of the charter I can read, I'll write on the last page by themselves. I am going to-morrow, with some others, to visit the Abbey, that I may give all the intelligence I can, and will leave this unfinished till the next day.

"(Thursday 26th)—I was at the Abbey yesterday; but unluckily most of the people I expected intelligence from were not at home, and the day was bad; so that I could not stay to survey it as I meant to have done. Among the venerable remains, St Mary's Chapel* is the most entire, built of the finest stones, and so durable that the marks of the chisel are yet upon them. Not in the least blasted. It's beautifully arched, and the roof supported by six pillars, the finest I have seen; and the niches for the altar and font-stone are quite distinct. There is a large vault on each side; one of which they call a pit, in which I found a number of cattle belonging to the tenant of the farm; the other had been a kitchen, and in it likewise are (*sic*) a brew-house, as appears by the vents of each; and the oven is yet entire. In the story above, some vaults yet remain, in which the nuns,† it's said, were lodged; and on the west side, a yeard called the Cloyster Yeard, adjoining to which is the quire or vestry of the church, from south to north. It's now razed to the foundation. The church

* What Mr Hutton calls *St Mary's Chapel* is not a chapel, but the cloisters of the Chapter-House.

† There were no nuns at Balmerino.

stood from west to east, and part of the back wall yet stands, and the foundations of the pillars are visible. I could hear nothing about the queen's grave, but think I could guess at the spot; for a great way on the back-wall the earth is high, and it's probable there are vaults below.* The churchyard is large, and is full of trees. East from that is the mansion-house, part of which yet stands, and the tenant lives in it. Two stone windows in the front have the impression of arms on them; and on the north end there is a bartizan, as they call it, looking towards the river. Behind is a large orchard, wherein some fruit trees still stand; and a walnut and an elm tree, very old, the grossest of the kind I ever saw. The great gate† fronts the west, and about it are the office-houses. The whole property belongs to the Earl of Moray. It has been used as a quarry, I believe, since the Reformation, and continues to be so still, and little of it now remains. It's seven years since I saw it before, and now the hewn stones of one of the pillars in the chapell, next to the side-wall, are driven down. It's shocking to see it. The whole will soon be ruined. In all the houses and dykes thereabouts the carved hewn stones of the Abbey are to be seen. Lord Balmerino's family lived there long. In 1611 the church was translated to about a quarter mile's distance to the eastward, because (it's said) the countess could not bear the noise of the psalms on Sunday. This is all the intelligence I can give at present; if more occurs afterwards, it shall be at your service. One Mr Alexander Melville, farmer at Peasehills, in the neighbourhood, who favoured me with this charter, tells me of another, dated either 1589 or 98—is to procure me a sight of that likewise. I showed him your letter, and he is eager to do what he can to gratify you. He is a sensible worthy man, and most obliging. He has this charter in trust from the poor family it belongs to, and it seems it never has been renewed. I much wish you saw this, and if you incline you might write him asking the favour. I could transmit it to you by the Dundee-Edinburgh carrier who passes here weekly, and he would send it by the Kelso carrier from Edinburgh. And this way of sending letters would be most regular, as I am seldom in Cupar unless on

* The Queen was not buried there. See page 62.

† This gate has since been demolished. See page 155.

Presbytery days. I must write what I can of the charter in a separate paper, for want of room here; and I am, with great respect,
Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Andrew Hutton."

"P.S.—The feu which this charter belongs to consists of a house and barn and a yeard, not exceeding half a rood of ground altogether, nay, not so much. I saw it the other day. The yearly duty it now pays is 3s. 4d. sterling."*

No. XXIV.

GENEALOGY OF THE PRINCIPAL FAMILIES.

§ 1. THE LASCELS OF NAUGHTON.

Alan, son of Walter de Lascel, married Juliana de Sommerville, and had two sons, Alan and Duncan.

Alan de L. of Adenacthen, son of the last, mentioned between 1188 and 1202, md. Amabilla ———, and had a daughter Marjory, who md. 1st, Peter de Haya, and 2dly, Sir Richard de Moravia, by whom she had a son Sir Alexander de M. of Newton, mentioned 1268-1281.

ARMS.—In H. M. Record Office there is a detached seal, "S Johannis de Laschel," bearing a hand and falcon, in the background a musket.

A seal of 1292, "Radulfi de Lascelles," has—*ermine*, three garbs.

§ 2. THE HAYS OF NAUGHTON (First Family).

John de Haya de Ardnaughton was the 3d son of William de H., the first of Errol (who died before 1199), by his wife Eva. He md. Juliana de Lascel, who predeceased him, and by whom

* The Charter here referred to is that regarding a house and garden, &c., at Bottomraig, noticed at page 138.

he had a son Peter. ("Alexander tunc constabular. de Adenauchtan," and Hervi de Adnaughtan witness a charter in 1260.)

Peter de Haya de Ardnaughton, son of the last, md. Marjory, dr. of Alan de Lascels. (See above). He died before 1266.

John de Haya de Adenauthan, mentd. 1281.

William de Haya of Nachtane, 1292, and 1297.

John de Haya of N., 1312-1362.

Nicholas Hay of N., 1394.

Sir William Hay of N., 1406-1467.

David Hay of N., son of the last, contracted with Alisoun of Murray 1420. He md. Catherine ———, who is mentd. 1440. He afterwards md. Isobel, dr. of Sir Thomas Wemyss of Rires (who subsequently became the 2d wife of David Boswell of Balmuto, by whom she had issue). David Hay had a son James, who succeeded him, and another son (name unknown), who had two sons, (1) James Hay in East Ferry, mentd. 1551, whose son James Hay, in Ferry-port-on-Craig, is mentd. 1588-1594. John Hay, Commendator of Balmerino (1561-1573), appears to have been of the family of Naughton, and was probably descended from, or at least was connected with, the above James Hay in East Ferry. The Commendator's eldest brother was Archibald, whose son was "John Hay in the Ferry" (1573). The Commendator md. Agnes Leitch, whom he predeceased in 1573, leaving Archibald and other children. (2) Alexander Hay of Morton (1520), now represented by J. D. Buchanan Hay of Morton. David Hay of Naughton had probably another son John, "brother of the Laird of N" (that is, of the *next* Laird), whose dr. Janet md. John Bethune of Criech. The Hays of St. Fort were probably also a branch of the family of Naughton.

Sir James Hay of N. was served heir to his fr. David in 1470. He had a son William (mentd. 1483-9), who predeceased him, and a dr. Janet, md. to Sir Peter Crichton. He died 1513.

ARMS.—*Argent*, three inescutcheons within a bordure engrailed, *gules*.

Seal of William Hay of Naughton, 1467—Couché, three escutcheons within a bordure indented. Crest—on a helmet, a mermaid holding a mirror in her right hand; the background ornamented with trees, and a stream of water.

Seal of James Hay of Naughton, 1494:—As the above, a comb in the mermaid's left hand.

§ 3. THE CRICHTONS OF NAUGHTON.

Sir Peter Crichton md., in 1494, Janet, dr. and heiress of Sir James Hay of Naughton. George Crichton, bishop of Dunkeld, was Sir Peter's brother. Robert Crichton, bishop of Dunkeld, was perhaps Sir Peter's son. He had 3 other sons—James, who md. Janet, dr. of John Bethune of Creich, and died before 1535; David; and William. He was alive in 1543.

David Crichton of Naughton, son of the last, md. Janet Leslie, dr. of George, 3d Earl of Rothes, who, after his death, md., 2dly, the Laird of Grant, but had no issue by either marriage. He died probably before 1553.

William Crichton of Drylaw and Naughton, brother of the last, was served heir to him in Naughton in 1558. In 1535-6 he was divorced from Beatrice Ranetoun, lady of Herdmanston. (See "Liber Officialis S. Andreae," printed for the Abbotsford Club.)

Alexander Crichton of D. and N., son of the last, had a son Ludovic, his heir. Probably of the family of Naughton were Catherine Crichton, who was md. before 1557 to David Balfour of Balledmonth; Janet C., wife of Thomas Graham in "Sandford of Naughton," who died 1580; and Catherine C., wife of Henry Wood in Wormit, who was alive in 1612.

Ludovic Crichton of N., eldest son of the last, md. Christian Ramsay, probably of the family of Ramsay of Grange and Corston; and their eldest son was Ludovic C.

ARMS.—Quarterly, 1st and 4th, *argent*, a lion rampant *azure*, armed and langued *gules*, for Crichton; 2d and 3d, *argent*, an inescutcheon within a bordure engrailed *gules*, for Hay. (Lindsay's MS.) But according to Nisbet ("Heraldry") :—2d and 3d, *argent*, three escutcheons within a bordure *gules*, for Hay.

Seal of Henry Crichton, 1525, apparently of the family of Crichton of Naughton :—Couché; a lion rampant. Crest—on a helmet with mantlings, a mermaid, holding a mirror in her right hand, and a comb in her left.

Seal of William Crichton of Naughton, 1563—A lion rampant.

§ 4. THE BALFOURS OF BALLEDMONTH.

David Balfour of Balledmonth or Balledmond (beside the old Church of Forgan), was descended from John Balfour of Balledmond, one of the sons of Sir Michael Balfour of Mountquhary by his wife Janet Ogilvie, dr. of Sir Andrew Ogilvie of Inchmartin. D. B. md. before 1557 Catherine Crichton, probably of the family of Naughton, who was alive in 1597.

David Balfour of B., son of the last, md. before 1574 Elizabeth Murray. He got charter of confirmation of the Kirklands of Forgan in 1577, and had two sons, Andrew and John. He was alive in 1612.

Sir Andrew Balfour of B., eldest son of the last, md. about 1596 Euphemia, dr. of John Inglis of Tarbat.

ARMS.—*Argent*, on a chevron *sable*, an otter's head erased of the first, with a cinquefoil *sable* in base, and two women as supporters.

Seal of David Balfour of Balledmont, 1594 :—On a chevron, an otter's head erased; in base, a cinquefoil.

§ 5. THE HAYS OF NAUGHTON (Second Family).

George Hay of Ross had two sons—Peter, born 1567; and William, mentioned 1611—1633.

Peter Hay of Nether-Durdie, and afterwards of Naughton, eldest son of the last, md. Marjory Hay, by whom he had 4 sons—George, his heir; James, a lieut.-col. in the army; Patrick, mentioned 1654; and Peter, born 1614. (Mary Hay, wife of Mr Walter Greig, minister of Balmerino, was perhaps of this family.) (A tomb-stone in Forgan church-yard records the death of Elspit Ramsay, spouse to Peter Hay of (illegible), who died 20th Dec. 1633, aged 76. It does not appear probable that this was Peter Hay of Naughton. If it was, it was his 2d marriage. There was a Peter Hay of Morton about that period, and a Peter Hay of Forrest in 1650.) Peter Hay was alive in 1643.

George Hay of Naughton, eldest son of the last, md. in 1621 Maria Ruthven, eldest dr. of William Ruthven of Freeland, grandson of William Lord Ruthven, by whom he had 4 sons and 3 drs., —Peter, his successor; Patrick, designated of Ross, who md.

Margaret Sword, and died 1687 (whose son, John Hay of Ross, dying s.p. in 1694, was succeeded in that estate by his sister Mary Hay of Ross, who md. John Hay of Pitfour); John Hay D.D., of Conland, alive in 1709; Thomas, an officer in the Scots Guards; Isobel, md. to Sir John Lesley of Newton; "Tibby," md. in 1663 to Robert Fotheringhame, "Dunmure's brother in Angus;" Janet, md. in 1656 to James Gray fiar of Balledgarno, with issue; Elizabeth, dr. of a (probably this) laird of Naughton, md. to Alexander Nairn of Sandford, who was served heir to his father in 1670. (George Hay, minister of Balmerino, was perhaps also a son of this laird.) He was alive in 1654.

Peter Hay of N., eldest son of the last, md. in 1655 the "young lady of Pitreue, Fordell Henderson's sister," and had two sons, John, who succeeded him, and Robert, born 1672. He died 1704.

John Hay of N., eldest son of the last, md. 1st (in 1699) Jean Scott, dr. of the laird of Edenshead; and 2dly, Margaret Ayton in Finglassy pariah, in 1702. He died in 1709 without surviving issue by either marriage, leaving a widow.

Robert Hay of N., brother of the last, md. 1693 Helen Bruce in Kilmany pariah, and had 7 children:—George the eldest, who became a lieut. in the army, and had in 1726 a son Robert, and in 1727 a son George; William, b. 1710; John, b. 1711; Robert, b. 1712; David, b. 1714; Andrew, b. 1718; Margaret, who md. in 1727 Captain Peter Bruce of Bunzeon, in the pariah of Cultra.

ARMS.—Of Communion cups given to Balmerino Church by Hays of Naughton, two (1715-16) bear:—*Argent*, three inescutcheons, *gules*. Crest—a falcon upon a wreath of the colours. Another cup of the same date has the arms as above, but no crest. Another made before 1682:—Party per pale,—1st, *Argent*, three inescutcheons *azure*, for Hay; 2d, paly of six *argent* and *vert* (?), for Ruthven.

§ 6. THE MORISONS OF NAUGHTON.

William Morison of Naughton was the son of William Morison, and md. Elizabeth Gray, by whom he had a son James.

James Morison of N., son of the last, had a family of nine chil-

dren, of whom James, a younger son, born in 1738, alone attained to manhood.

James Morison of N., son of the last, md. Isabella, eldest dr. and heiress of the Rev. David Maxwell, minister, and laird of part, of Strathmartine (by a dr. of Duncan of Lundie), by whom he had 5 children:—Isobel, born 1760, his successor in Naughton; William, born 1761, who predeceased his father; Betsy; Catherine; and Anne. One of the three last md. Henry Stark of Teasses, son of the Rev. Thomas Stark of Balmerino; another md. Skene of Pitlour, and had a son who arrived at manhood, when he died; and the third died unmd. James Morison died in 1816.

Isobel Morison of N., eldest dr. of the last, md. William Bethune of Blebo, by whom she had one child, Isabella Maxwell, born 1795, who died in 1818. (Mrs Morison had an aunt, Lillias Maxwell, youngest dr. of Rev. D. Maxwell, who died in 1846, aged 90.) She died in 1850 aged 90 years.

Adam Alexander Duncan-Morison of N., son of the Hon. Sir Henry Duncan, Capt., R.N. (who was the second son of Viscount Duncan), by a dr. of Capt. Coutts Crawford, R.N., md. in 1853 Catherine Eunice, dr. of Major M'Kenzie of Fodderty. He died in 1855, leaving a daughter,

Miss Catherine Henrietta Adamina Duncan-Morison of Naughton.

ARMS of A. A. Duncan-Morison of Naughton:—Quarterly: 1st and 4th, *argent*, three Moors' heads couped *sable*, banded *or*, in the centre of the field a saltire couped of the second, whereon is a man's heart of the third, for difference, for Morison; 2d, *gules*, a chevron *or*, between two cinquefoils in chief and a hunting horn in base *argent*, garnished *azure*, all within a bordure of the second, for difference, for Duncan; 3d, counterquartered, 1st and 4th, *argent*, a saltire engrailed *sable*; 2d, *argent*, a saltire engrailed between four roses *gules*; 3d, *or*, a bend chequé *argent* and *sable*, the whole within a bordure *gules*, for difference, for Haldane. Crests:—On the dexter side, three Saracens' heads conjoined in one neck, erased and wreathed about the temples with laurel, all proper; one looking upward, the others to the dexter and sinister sides. Motto—*Pretio prudentia praestat*. In the centre a ship in distress in a sea proper. Motto—*Disce pati*. On the sinister side, an eagle's head erased, *or*. Motto—*Suffer*.

§ 7. THE ABERNETHIES OF THAT ILK.

Hugh de Abernethy lived in reign of David I. (1124-1153.)

Orme de A., son of the last, 1162-1185. He had a son Laurence, and a dr. Margaret, md. to Henry de Reuel of Balmerino.

Laurence de A., son of the last, had a son Sir Patrick, and died soon after 1244.

(Sir Alexander Abernethy, great-grandson of the last, in the direct line, lived in King Robert Bruce's time. He died without issue, and his extensive property went to his 3 drs.—(1) Margaret, md. to John Stewart, Earl of Angus, who got with her the barony of Abernethy; (2) Helen, md. to David de Lindsay, ancestor of the Earls of Crawford, who got with her the barony of Downie in Angus; (3) Mary, md. to Sir Andrew Lesley, ancestor of the Earls of Rothes, who got with her the barony of Ballinbreich, Cairney, Rothes in Aberdeenshire, &c. These 3 families have ever since quartered the arms of Abernethy with their own. The representation now devolved on the male heir of William, 2d son of the above Sir Patrick, ancestor of the Abernethies, lords of Salton.)

ARMS of the Lord of Abernethy:—*or*, a lion rampant *gules*, armed and langued *azure*, debriused of a ribbon *sable*.

Seal of Alexander Abernethy, 1292:—A lion rampant debriused of a ribbon, the shield on the breast of an eagle displayed.

§ 8. THE REUELS OF BALMERINO.

Henry de Reuel, who lived in the time of William the Lion (1164-1214), md. Margaret, dr. of Orme of Abernethy.

Richard Reuel, nephew of the last, succeeded him.

Adam de Stawel, brother of the last, succeeded him, and sold his lands in 1225 to Queen Ermengarde.

§ 9. JOHN HAY, COMMENDATOR OF BALMERINO ABBEY.

See a notice of his family at page 384.

§ 10. THE KINNEIRS, BAILIES AND COMMENDATORS
OF BALMERINO ABBEY.

William de Kiner, mentioned in King William's time (1165-1214).

Symon de Kynner and his wife Amia, about 1234 or 1244, gave several grants of land to the monks of Balmerino.

Symon, son of Symon de Kynner, before 1286, gave a grant of land to the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem.

Sir John de Kynner, in 1286, confirmed a grant to Balmerino Abbey.

John de Kinner was infest in the barony of Kinner in the time of Robert II (1371-1390).

David Kinneir of Kinneir, mentioned in 1488, had 2 sons, John and Henry, and died before 1543.

John Kinneir of K., son of the last, was served heir to his father in 1543. In 1559 he got from Abbot Robert a Tack of the lands of Tor and teinds of Catholach [?] for 19 years. In 1564 he got a Tack of the Abbey revenues. In 1599 he got a charter of confirmation of the Baillery of the Abbey. He md. Helen Ramsay, and had 2 sons—(1) David, his heir; (2) Henry, Commendator of the Abbey, who md. Christian, dr. of Robert Bethune of Crieck, by whom he had two sons and a dr.—(1) John, designed of Barnden, Commendator of Balmerino, who died before 1604; (2) David, minister or rector of Auchterhouse, who had a son John; (3) Jean, md. — Scott, and had a son Thomas Scott, who, in 1629, was served heir to his mother in an annual rent of 50 merks from Nethermylne and certain lands at Balmerino.

David Kinneir of K., eldest son of the last (who died before 1602), was, in 1619, served heir to his fr. in the Baillery of the Abbey, which in the same year he renounced to Lord Balmerino.

This family continued in Kinneir till about the end of last century.

ARMS of Kinneir of that Ilk:—*sable*, on a bend *or*, three martlets (or Kinnerrie birds) *vert*. Crest:—two anchors, saltierways, proper. Motto:—*I live in hope*.

§ 11. ROBERT AUCHMOUTY, COMMENDATOR OF BALMERINO ABBEY,

Was the son of David Auchmouty, advocate in St. Andrews. In

1613 he was designed of Denmiln, [Demmings?], and got a charter of certain lands in Balmerino parish. David, his son, skipper in St. Andrews, was served heir to him in 1644, and, same year, sold his lands to Balfour of Grange.

§ 12. THE ELPHINSTONES: BARONS BALMERINO.

The Hon. Sir James Elphinstone, 1st Baron Balmerino, was the 3d son of Robert, 3d Lord Elphinstone, by his Lady, Margaret, dr. of Sir John Drummond of Innerpeffry. He md. 1st, Sarah, dr. of Sir John Menteith of Carse, by whom he had a son John, who succeeded him. He md. 2dly, Marjory, dr. of Hugh Maxwell of Tealing, by whom he had a son, James, and 2 drs.—(1) James, who became Baron Coupar in 1607, md. 1st, Margaret, dr. of Sir James Halyburton of Pitcur, and 2dly, Lady Marion Ogilvy, dr. of the 2d Earl of Airlie (who, after his death, was md. to John, 3d Lord Lindores). He died 1669 s. p. by either mar. (2) Anne, md. to Andrew, 1st Lord Fraser. (3) Mary [or Barbara?], md. to John Hamilton of Blair. He died in 1612.

John, 2d Baron Balmerino, eldest son of the last, md. Anne, dr. of Sir Thomas Ker of Fernyhurst, and sister of Andrew and James, Lords Jedburgh, and of Robert, Earl of Somerset, by whom he had a son John, his successor. He died 1649.

John, 3d Baron Balmerino, son of the last, md. in 1649, at the Abbey of Holyroodhouse, Lady Anne Campbell, dr. of John, Earl of Loudon, Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, by whom he had 3 sons and 1 dr.—(1) John, his successor; (2) James, born 1655; (3) Margaret, b. 1657; (4) James, b. 1660; the three last died in infancy. He died 1704, aged 82 years.

John, 4th Baron Balmerino, eldest son of the last, md. 1st, Lady Christian Montgomery, 3d dr. of Hugh, 7th Earl of Eglington, by whom he had 2 sons and 2 drs.—(1) Hugh, Master of Balmerino, who was killed at the siege of Lille in 1708, leaving no issue; (2) James, who succeeded his fr.; (3) Margaret, md. in 1692 to Sir John Preston of Prestonhall, and had issue; (4) Jean, md. to Francis, 6th Earl of Moray, was the mother of James the 7th earl, and died 1739. He md. 2dly, in 1687, Anne, dr. of Dr. Arthur Ross, last Archbp. of St. Andrews, by whom he had 2 sons and a dr.—(1) Arthur, who became the 6th baron; (2)

Alexander, who died unm. in 1733; (3) Anne, who died unm. He died in 1736, aged 84. His lady died in 1712.

James, 5th Baron Balmerino, eldest surviving son of the last, m. Lady Elizabeth Carnegie, dr. of David, 4th Earl of Northesk, but died without issue in 1746, aged 71. His lady lived till 1767.

Arthur, 6th and last Baron Balmerino, and half-brother of the fifth lord, m. Margaret, dr. of Captain Chalmers, by whom he had no issue. He was beheaded at Tower Hill, London, 18th August 1746, in the 58th year of his age, when the male line of his family became extinct. His lady died at Restalrig in 1765.

ARMS:—*Argent*, a chevron *sable*, charged with three buckles of the field, betwixt three boars' heads, erased, *gules*. Crest:—a dove *argent*, with a snake, proper, linked about its legs. Supporters:—two griffins, proper, beaked and armed, *or*. Motto:—*Prudentia fraudis nescia*.

§ 13. THE EARLS OF MORAY, AND STUARTS OF BALMERINO.

James, 7th Earl of Moray, eldest son of Francis the 6th earl, by his 2d wife, Jean, dr. of John, 4th Lord Balmerino, m. 1st, Grace, dr. of George Lockhart of Carnwath, widow of John Gordon, 3d Earl of Aboyne, by whom he had a son Francis, 8th earl; and a dr. Euphemia. He m. 2dly, Margaret, dr. of David, 3d Earl of Wemyss, by whom he had two sons, James and David. He died 1767.

Francis, 8th Earl of Moray, eldest son of the last, m. Jane, dr. of John, 12th Lord Gray, and by her (who died 1786) had issue 5 sons and 3 drs.—(1) James, who died 1776; (2) John, who died 1791; (3) Francis, the 9th Earl; (4) Archibald, twin-brother of Francis, (of whom see below); (5) Charles, died unm.; (6) Margaret, died unm.; (7) Grace, m. George Douglas of Cavers, and died 1846; (8) Anne, died 1837. He died 1810. [He was succeeded by his son Francis, 9th earl, who died 1848. Francis, 10th earl, eldest son of the last, died in 1859, and was succeeded by his brother John, the 11th Earl.]

The Hon. Archibald Stuart of Balmerino, twin-brother of Francis, 9th Earl of Moray, was born 1771; m. in 1793 Cornelia, dr. of Edmund Morton Pleydell of Milbourn St. Andrews, Dorset, and

by her (who died 1830) he left at his decease, in 1832, 6 sons—(1) Francis Archibald Stuart, present proprietor of Balmerino; (2) John Morton S., who died 1840; (3) James-William S., who died 1850; (4) Edmund-Luttrell S., Rector of Winterborne Houghton, Dorset, born 1798, md., 1834, Elizabeth, 2d dr. of the Rev. J. L. Jackson, Rector of Swanage, Dorset, and had issue—Edmund-Archibald, born 1840; Francis-James, b. 1842; Morton-Grey, b. 1855; Cornelia; (5) Douglas-Wynne S., md., 1842, Marcia, youngest dr. of the late Francis-Fownes Luttrell Esq., and had a son Douglas-Moray, b. 1843; (6) the Rev. George Gray S., who died in 1835.

ARMS of Earl of Moray:—Quarterly, 1st and 4th, *or*, a lion rampant, within a double tressure, flory, counterflory, *gules*, surrounded with a bordure gobonated, compony, *argent* and *azure*, as a descendant of the Royal House of Stewart; 2d, *or*, a fess chequy *argent* and *azure*, for Stewart of Doune; 3d, *or*, three cushions, two and one, of a lozenge form, within a double tressure, flory, counterflory, *gules*, for Randolph, Earl of Moray. Crest:—on a wreath, a pelican in her nest, feeding her young, proper. Supporters:—two greyhounds, proper. Motto:—*Salus per Christum Redemptorem*.

§ 14. DOUGLAS OF STONYPATH AND BOTTOMCRAIG.

(For a notice of this family see pp. 170, 185.)

ARMS:—*Argent*, a heart *gules*, royally crowned of the first; on a chief *azure*, three mullets of the field, a bordure of the second.

§ 15. THE CRICHTONS OF BOTTOMCRAIG.

James Crichton of Cranston-Riddel (the representative of David Crichton, who was descended from Lord Chancellor Crichton through the Crichtons of Frendraught, and md. in 1468—Riddel, heiress of Cranston-Riddel) had two sons, James and Thomas. He died before 1619.

Thomas Crichton of Bottomcraig, 2d. son of the last, was born 1575, and md. Jean Canneolie or Carmelie, by whom he had a dr.

Elizabeth. He was killed in 1619, in which year also his wife died.

Elizabeth Crichton of B., dr. of the last, succeeded her parents in 1619, and died before 1st March 1620, when the property went to her uncle, Sir James Crichton, Bart., who sold it soon afterwards:

ARMS of Crichton of Cranston-Riddel:—*or*, a lion rampant *azure*, within a *bordure gules*.

§ 16. THE STARKS OF BALLINDEAN.

Paul Stirk of Ballindean md. before 1532 Marion Jackson, dr. of Andrew Jackson by his wife Alison Ramsay, and by her had 4 sons—George, born before 1532, who succeeded him; Andrew; Alexander; and John—all born before 1539. Mirabella Stirk, probably Paul's dr., md. before 1563 John Duncan, portioner of Newbigging, and had issue. Others of the name occur in the Parish about this time—David in 1586, and Margaret in 1592.

George Stirk of B., eldest son of the last, had a son George.

George Stirk of B., son of the last, had 2 sons—George his heir; and David, who resided in Hillcairney, and died about 1655, leaving a son David, born 1654, to whom his uncle, George Stirk, served himself Tutor in 1655. Janet and Robert Stirk were probably also children of this laird.

George Stirk of B., eldest son of the last, md. 1st. Jean Oliphant in the par. of Kilmany, in 1644, by whom he had 4 children—George, b. 1644, who pre-deceased his fr.; Margaret, b. 1648; Thomas, b. 1646, his father's heir; and William, b. 1649. He md., 2dly, Margaret Bennet in par. of Crieich, in 1651, by whom he had 4 children—David; Robert; Walter, who was a farmer in Kinneir in 1690; and Margaret, md. to John Wylie in 1693. This laird was alive in 1691.

Thomas Stark of B., eldest surviving son of the last, md. in 1672 (when resident in South Leith) Margaret Greig, youngest dr. of Mr Walter Greig, minister of Balmerino, born 1647, by whom he had 4 children—(1) John, his heir; (2) Christian, md. in 1697 to Mr James Hay, minister of Balmerino, and nephew of the laird of Naughton, by whom she had 12 children between 1697 and 1714: she died 1715; (3) Jean, md. in 1717 to Mr James Adam, minister of Kinnaird; (4) William,

factor to the Balmerino family (as his father also had been) and to the Earl of Moray, at Balmerino. He md. in 1730 Margaret, youngest dr. of Alexander Alison of Birkhill, and died 1759. Of his sons, the youngest was called Arthur, probably after Lord Balmerino. Another, Thomas, became factor at Balmerino to Lord Moray, and md. in 1760 Agnes, 2d dr. of Archibald M'Duff of Ballinloan, par. of Little Dunkeld, by whom he had a son Stewart, and died 1781. Another son, John, was, apparently, the "John Stark of Rungay" who died in 1771, and was interred in Balmerino churchyard. This laird was alive in 1722.

John Stark of B. and N., eldest son of the last, became minister of Logie-Murdoch in 1700, and md. Catherine Bethune, eldest dr. of Bethune of Blebo, by whom he had a son Thomas, his heir; and another, James, tenant in Peasehills, who md. 1st, Barbara Hay in the par. of Forgan, and 2dly, Jean Johnstone in the par. of St. Andrews, and had issue by both marriages. John Stark died 1748.

Thomas Stark, of B. and N., eldest son of the last, was admitted minister of Balmerino in 1742, and md. Helen Bruce, youngest dr. of Bruce of Kinloch, by whom he had 8 children—(1) John, his heir, born 1747; (2) James, who entered the service of the E. I. C., and, on his return home, bought the estate of Kingsdale. He md. Margaret Alexander, 3d dr. of Sir Alexander Dick, Bart. of Prestonfield, by whom he had a son who died in infancy, and 3 drs.—Mary Butter S., md. to Robert Christie, 5th son of James Christie of Durie; Agnes Keith S.; and Henrietta Elizabeth S., md. to Henry Lindsay Dick Cuninghame, Esq.; (3) Elizabeth, md. to Charles Wilson, D.D., successively minister of Auchtermuchty, Professor of Oriental Languages, and Profr. of Church History in St. Andrews, by whom she had 8 children, one of whom, Jane, was md. to Dr James Hunter of St. Andrews, and another, Catherine, was md. to Lord Jeffrey; (4) Andrew, who died in infancy; (5) Catherine, md. to Col. Dean of the Indian army, and had issue; (6) Harry, who went to India, and on his return purchased the estate of Teasses. He md., 1st, a dr. of James Morison of Naughton, by whom he had 2 ch. who died in infancy. He md., 2dly, a dr. of Major Horsbrugh, by whom he had 4 ch.—James, and Margaret, who both died in infancy; Thomas, who became a Capt. in the Grenadier Guards, but died without issue; and Henrietta who died unmd. He (Harry) died

in 1796, and his widow in 1845; (7) Margaret; and (8) Anna-Barbara. Their father, the minister of Balmerino, died 1772. (About this time persons of the name of Stark were very numerous in the Parish and neighbourhood.)

John Stark (afterwards John Stark-Robertson) of B. and N., and minister of Balmerino, eldest son of the last, demitted the living of Balmerino in 1781, and afterwards settled in Bath. He md. in 1790 Susannah, only dr. of Major-General Reid, and died about 1810 without issue.

Mrs S. Stark-Robertson of B. and N., widow of the last, died in 1838, and was succeeded by

The Misses Mary Butler S., Agnes Keith S., and Henrietta Elizabeth S., drs. of James Stark of Kingsdale (see above). The first md. Robert Stark-Christie of Teasses, of the family of Christie of Durie, and died in 1861, leaving 3 sons, James Henry Robertson-Stark-Christie, now of Teasses; Bruce Stark-Christie; and Thomas Stark-Christie, now of Ballindean and Newbigging.

§ 17. THE BALFOURS OF GRANGE.

David Balfour of Balbuthy, and afterwards of Newgrange of Balmerino, the 3d of 7 sons of Andrew Balfour of Mountquhanie (who died 1570) by his wife Janet, 3d dr. of Sir Alexander Bruce of Earlsall, md. Elizabeth Wemyss, and left two sons, Michael and Gilbert. He died before 1572.

Gilbert Balfour of Balbuthy and Grange, 2d son of the last, died before 1589, leaving a son David.

David Balfour of B. and G. (son of the last), to whom George Balfour, Prior of Charter-house, served himself Tutor in 1589, was served heir to his fr. Gilbert, and to his grandfr. David in 1612. He md. Bisset Balfour, and had a son—name unknown—who was the father of Elizabeth Balfour who was served heiress-portioner to her grandfather David in 1620.

Michael Balfour of G., uncle of the last, had a charter of Grange in 1620, md. Jean Melville, niece of Andrew Melville, and died between 1642 and 1644.

Andrew Balfour of G., son of the last, was twice md. By his 1st mar. he had a dr. Margaret, who was md. in 1653 to And-

rew Leslie, 2d son of Sir John Leslie of Birkhill, and had issue. His 2d wife (md. 1652) was Christian Balfour, dr. of David Balfour of St Fort, by whom he had 8 children—David, born 1654, his heir; Christian; Grisel, md. to Thomas Law in Dundee; Robert; William; Andrew; John; and Peter.

David Balfour of G., eldest son of the last, md. Elizabeth Balfour, by whom he had 6 children—Anne, md. to James Balfour of Radernie, and had issue; a child baptized at Newton 1688 or 1689; Elizabeth baptd. in Balmerino Church 1690; another Elizabeth born 1692; Barbara; and Catherine, md. in 1718 to Peter Crombie, merchant in Cupar. David Balfour sold Grange in 1723, and was alive in 1727.

ARMS.—*Argent*, on a chevron *sable*, an otter's head erased of the first. Crest—a castle *argent*, on the battlement a woman standing proper attired *gules*, holding in her hand an otter's head as the former. Motto—*Nihil temere*.

§ 18. THE EARLS OF ROTHES.

[The founder of this family was Bartholomew de Ieslyn, who possessed the barony of Ieslyn in Aberdeenshire, in the reign of William the Lion, and is said to have been a Flemish chief. Norman Lesly, the 4th in direct descent from Bartholomew, got from Alexander III. a grant of the lands of Fetekill (now Leslie) in Fife, in 1283. Sir Andrew L. son of the last, got the barony of Ballinbriech and also Cairney, Rothes in the north, &c., by his wife Mary, one of the 3 drs. and co-heiresses of Sir Alexander Abernethy of that ilk. One of his sons, George L., was ancestor of the Lesleys of Balquhain, and of Leven. George L., the 6th in succession, and the 4th in lineal descent from Sir Andrew, was created Earl of Rothes about 1455. George, 2d Earl of Rothes, grandson of the last, died at Flodden, 1513. William his brother, also killed at Flodden, md. Margaret, dr. of Sir Michael Balfour of Mountquhanie, whose second son, John L. of Parkhill, was concerned, with his nephew Norman Lesley, in the slaughter of Cardinal Bethune. George, 3d Earl of Rothes, nephew of the last, acquired extensive estates, and was 4 times md. Janet, a dr. by his second wife Agnes Somerville, was md. to David Crichton of Naughton. Euphemia, a dr. by his 3d wife Margaret

Crichton, dr. of William, 3d Lord Crichton, was md. to George Learmonth of Balcomie and Birkhill. Norman Lesley, his son by the same lady, was concerned in the murder of Cardinal Bethune. He (3d Earl) died at Dieppe in 1558.]

Andrew, 4th Earl of Rothes, son of the 3d Earl by his 2d wife, was designed in his father's lifetime Andrew L. of Kilmany. He acquired many estates, and was alive in 1601. He was thrice md. By his 3d wife, Janet Durie, he had 3 sons and a dr.—(1) George, who died unmd. (2) Sir John Lesley of Newton and Birkhill. (3) Robert, who died without issue. (4) Isabel, md. to James, Master of Sinclair. (This family is now represented by the Countess of Rothes.)

ARMS:—Quarterly; 1st and 4th *argent*, on a bend *azure*, three buckles *or*, for Lesley; 2d and 3d *or*, a lion rampant *gules*, debased by a ribbon *sable*, for Abernethy. Crest—on a wreath, a demi-griffin, proper. Supporters—two griffins parted per fess, *argent* and *gules*. Motto, *Grip Fast*.

§ 19. THE LEARMONTHS OF BIRKILL.

George Learmonth of Balcomie and Birkhill was the descendant, probably the son, of Sir James Learmonth of Clatto, Dairsie, and Balcomie, son of David L. of Clatto. (Sir James had a charter of Balcomie in 1526). George L. md. before 1554 Euphemia Leslie, dr. of the 3d Earl of Rothes, by whom he had 11 children—James, and John, his heirs; Robert, who md. Janet, dr. of Sir John Skene of Curriehill; William, who md. a dr. of John Make-sen of Crail; his eldest dr. became the 2d wife of George Forrester of Strathendrie; Grizel, md. George Mercer of Curden; Margaret, md. Andrew Sibbald of Over Rankeillor; Elizabeth, md. George Barron of Kinnaird; Catherine, md. Cuthbert Borthwick of Hesperston; Helen, md. John, brother of William Myrton of Cambo; Jean, died unmd. He died before 1586. His wife survived him, and md. John Cunningham of Barns.

John Learmonth of Birkhill, and afterwards of Balcomie, 2d son of the last, md. Elizabeth, dr. of David Myrton of Randerston, who died in 1621, and by whom he had 14 children—James, his heir; Capt. David, who died in Germany; Andrew, minister of Liberton; George, Thomas, and John, who died unmd.; Cath-

erine, 2d wife of Melville of Halhill; Anna, md. to John Bonar of Lumquhat; Margaret, md. to William Moncrieff of Randerston; Christian, md. to James Monipenny of Denino; Cecilia, 2d wife of John Scheves of Kemback; Elizabeth, md. to David Elliot of Stobs; Helen, who died unmd.; Grizel, 2d wife of Alexander, brother of James Bonner of Kennoway (?) He died in 1625. [His son, Sir James L. of Balcomie, died in 1657, whose son Robert L. of B. died in 1696, leaving the estate encumbered with debt. (See Wood's "East Neuk of Fife," page 273.)]

ARMS:—*Or*, on a chevron *sable*, three mascles of the first. Crest—a rose slipped, *gules*. Motto—*Spero*.

§ 20. THE LESLEYS OF BIRKHILL.

Sir John Lesley of Newton and Birkhill was the 2d of the 3 sons of Andrew, 4th Earl of Rothes, whom he had by his 3d wife, Janet, dr. of David Durie of that ilk. He md. Elizabeth, 4th dr. of Patrick, 7th Lord Gray, by whom he had probably 6 children—(1) John, his heir; (2) Andrew, whose descendant, on the failure of heirs-male of his elder brother John, carried on the line of the family. He was designed of Quarter, in the par. of Burntisland, and md. Margaret, dr. of Andrew Balfour of Grange, whose grandson Alexander L. became Lord Lindores on the death of David the 4th Lord, who was descended from Patrick, 1st Lord L. the 2d son of Andrew, 4th Earl of Rothes, by his 1st wife; (3) James, ancestor of the Lesleys of Lumquhat; (4) Alexander; (5) Jean, dr. either of this, or of the 2d Sir John Lesley, who became the 2d wife of Sir Andrew Dick of Craighouse, the 2d son of Sir William Dick of Braid, and had issue: (6) Anna, dr. either of this, or of the 2d Sir John L., who md. Sir James Kirkaldy of Grange, son of William K. the 5th laird of Grange.

Sir John Lesley of N. and B., eldest son of the last, md. in 1650 Isabel, dr. of George Hay of Naughton, by whom he had a son John, his heir, and 2 drs.—(1) Elizabeth, who became the 1st wife of William Dick, 2d baron of Grange, whose fr. William, the 1st baron, was the 3d son of Sir William Dick of Braid. She died before 1698, leaving 2 drs., Anne, and Janet Dick. Anne was md. to Peter Leith of Craighall, and Janet was md. to Mungo Carnegie of Birkhill (of whom see below); (2) Mary, who was md. 1st to —

Bruce, and had 2 drs., Helen, and Jean B. She md. 2dly, Laurence Ayton of Drumcarrow, by whom she had a son David A. She was alive in 1686. Her fr. died between 1674 and 1686.

John Lesley of N. and B. son of the last, md. Jean, sister of John Melville of Murdocairnie, who pre-deceased him. He died at Birkhill 1686, without issue.

§ 21. THE CARNEGIES OF BIRKILL.

Mungo Carnegie of Birkhill, and of the third-part of Kilmany, was the 2d son of Sir Alexander Carnegie of Pitarrow (who was the 4th son of David, 1st Earl of Southesk) by his wife Margaret, dr. of Sir Robert Arbuthnot of that Ilk. He md. Janet Dick, niece of John Leslie of Birkhill, and died in 1705, leaving issue.

Arms of Carnegie of Pitarrow:—Per pale, *or* and *argent*, an eagle displayed *azure*, armed and beaked *gules*. Crest:—a demi-eagle displayed as in the Arms. Motto:—*Video alta sequorque*.

§ 22. THE ALISONS OF BIRKILL.

Alexander Alison of Birkhill, Kilmany, &c., md. Janet Dick, widow of Mungo Carnegie of Birkhill, before 1711, and had two sons, Alexander and John; and 3 drs., Isabel, Anna, and Margaret, the last of whom was md. to William, 2d son of Thomas Stark of Ballindean, factor at Balmerino, and had issue.

Alexander Alison of B., eldest son of the last, died before 1729, without issue.

John Alison of B., brother of the last, sold Birkhill in 1744 to David Scrimgeour.

§ 23. THE SCRIMGEOUR-WEDDERBURNS OF BIRKILL.

Doctor Alexander Scrimgeour of Grange, son of John Scrimgeour of Kirkton by his wife Magdalene, dr. of Alexander Wedderburn of Kingennie, md. Janet, only dr. of David Falconer, Professor of Divinity in St. Andrews, and laird of Little Kinneir, by whom he had a son David.

David Scrimgeour of Birkhill, son of the last, who md. in 1739 Catherine, 3d dr. of Sir Alexander Wedderburn of Blackness, by whom he had 9 children—Alexander, his heir, born 1743; John, a capt. in the E. I. C.'s service, who commanded the 28th battalion of Sepoys, and died at Bangalore in 1791 without issue; David, b. 1748, also in the E. I. C.'s service, died in India 1780; Henry, b. 1755, who succeeded his eldest brother; Catherine, Grissel, Elizabeth, and Marian, who all died young; Janet, md. in 1776 to John Gillespie, yr. of Kirkton, died in 1811 aged 60, leaving issue. He died at Birkhill in 1772.

Alexander Scrimgeour-Wedderburn of Wedderburn and Birkhill, eldest son of the last, md. in 1771 Elizabeth, 2d dr. of James Ferguson of Pitfour, a Lord of Session, by his wife Anne, dr. of Alexander, 4th Lord Elibank. He died without issue at Pitfour in 1811.

Henry Scrimgeour-Wedderburn of W. and B., youngest brother of the last, md. in 1793 Mary Turner, eldest dr. of the Hon. Frederick Lewis Maitland of Rankeillor, Capt. R. N., 6th son of Charles, 6th Earl of Lauderdale, by whom he had 10 children—Alexander, who pre-deceased his father; Frederick Lewis, the present representative, born 1808; Margaret Louisa, md. to Alexander Smith, Esq., W.S.; Catherine, md. to Capt Robert Cathcart, R.N. of Carbiston, with issue; Elizabeth, died 1838; Janette; Mary Turner, md. to Thomas Smith, Esq., E. I. C.'s service; Isabella, died 1826; Matilda, md. to Capt. Robert M. Isacke, E. I. C.'s service, died in 1864, leaving issue; Euphemia. He died 30th Dec. 1841.

Frederick Lewis Scrimgeour-Wedderburn of W. and B., only surviving son of the last, md. 1st, in 1839, the Hon. Helen Arbuthnot, 4th dr. of the 8th Viscount Arbuthnot, by whom he had a son, Henry S.-W. b. in 1840. She died in 1840. He md. 2dly, in 1852, Selina Mary, 2d dr. of the late Capt. Thomas Garth, R.N., of Haines Hill, Berks, by whom he has issue.

ARMS:—*Gules*, a lion rampant *or*, armed and langued *azure*, holding in the dexter paw a scimitar *argent*. Crests:—1. A lion's gamb, erect, holding a scimitar, all proper. 2. An eagle's head erased, proper, with a scroll over it, bearing the motto, *Aquila non capiat muscas*. Supporters:—two greyhounds, collared *gules*. Mottoes:—for Scrimgeour, *Dissipate*; for Wedderburn, *Non Degener*.

No. XXV.

TRANSMISSION OF PROPERTY.

[Part I., Chapter IV., and Part IV., Chapter I., combined, present a general view of the succession of proprietors of the estate of Naughton, from the twelfth century to the present time; and Part I., Chapter V., gives all that we have ascertained regarding the proprietors of the *original* Parish of Balmerino before its lands were acquired by the Abbey, in whose possession the whole of these lands remained till near the Reformation. The following notes furnish, in greater detail than would have been suitable in the body of the work, an account of the transmission of the Abbey lands in this parish (with the exception of several small portions) after their alienation by the Abbey, thus presenting—along with the other portions of the work referred to—a tolerably complete list of the landholders of the present Parish during a period of from six to seven centuries.]

§ 1. ESTATE OF BALMERINO.

(1.) The Abbey Place, with lands, &c., adjacent thereto.

The Abbey or Manor-place of Balmerino, with close and precincts, gardens, orchards, site of Abbey Church, and Convent church-yard; wood of Balmerino and Barnden fishings; 4 acres of Barncroft; green of Balmerino, and plum-yard; overmilm, malt-kiln and barn, and ward and nutyard adjoining thereto; arable yards of Balmerino, situated south of the Commendator's house, and extending to 4 acres; orchard called Heriot's Yard, with the walls and ruinous houses called the Burnt-girnel; 5 acres of Woodflat; 4 acres of Harlands; 4 acres of Crossfaulds: the Barn-yards; 4 acres of Harlands and Woodflat.

The Kinneirs held these portions of the Abbey property in their own hands during their Commendatorship. (See Appendix No. IX.) Some portions were acquired by them in the year 1579 (see page 408). In 1619 David Kinneir, minister of Auchterhouse, as heir to John Kinneir the Commendator, resigned the whole to

Lord Balmerino, that the right of property might be consolidated with the right of superiority.

But in terms of the contract entered into by Henry Kinneir with the first Lord Balmerino in 1603, when the former resigned to the latter the benefice of the Abbacy, Kinneir was to get a tack during his lifetime of the Abbey-place, yards and orchards, corn-yards, park and dovecoat, the overmiln, east-wood, and fishings. On his death these, *at least*, must have passed to Lord Balmerino, who lived at the Abbey 1610-1612, and died there in the latter year.

Probably also all the other lands, &c., had passed to Lord Balmerino on the death of Henry, or of John Kinneir; and if so, David Kinneir's resignation in 1619 was but the repetition of a former transaction.

The Wood of Balmerino and Barnden fishings were acquired by the Learmonths, and afterwards formed part of Birkhill estate.

Of the above lands the following were feued before the Reformation:—

Four acres in Harlands, four acres in Woodflat, and one acre called Lorimer's Well acre. Abbot Robert and Convent give sasine of these to John Boytour in 1544. *Four acres of Crossfaulds or Corsefields.* In 1546 John Boyter gets charter of these (which seem to have been sometime possessed by David Ramsay in Pit-tachup, Alexander Cockburn, and his son) and of the above 9 acres from the Abbot and Convent. 1557, Henry Boytour succeeds, and resigns 5 acres in Harlands and Woodflat in favour of Richard Lees, who gets charter of them from the Abbey, 1558. In 1579 David Boytour succeeds to the whole 13 acres, and grants a ch. of them to Commendator Henry in liferent, and to John Kinneir his son, to be holden of the Abbacy. In 1619 Kinneir resigned them to Lord Balmerino (see above).

In 1620 James Ramsay of Corstoun resigned to Lord Balmerino an acre of land which he possessed in Woodflat.

(2.) Lands of Kirkton of Balmerino, with 4 acres east of miln and lead, Seaside, Brewlands, and right of brewing and selling ale, Nethermiln and milnlands (north of graveyard), dovecot, and common pasture. Alexander Matthew in Kilburns, and Isobel Ramsay his spouse were possessed of these lands in 1584, and

some time previously. (In 1581 A. M. resigned half of the *Overmilt* to John Kinneir.) 1597, A. M. alienates these lands, &c., to George Ramsay of Peasehills. 1620, George, son of said George Ramsay. Then his wife. Then Alexander Barbour. Then James Bett (1631). 1641, James, son of James Bett, who in 1646 sells the whole to John, Master of Balmerino.

(3.) Park, Poyntok, Drumcharry, Bottomcraig, Dochrone, &c.

No. 1. Lands of Park and Poyntok, 4 acres called Craigin-grugie's fauld, 3 acres in Harlands, and 1 acre in Woodflat.

No. 2. Third-part lands of Drumcharry and Bottomcraig.

Abbot Robert and Convent feued all these lands in 1546 to Andrew Wilson. 1575, David Wilson, his son, succeeds. 1602, Mr Thomas Douglas of Stonypath. 1607 (?), Mr Robert Auchmouty. (Afterwards divided; see below.)

No. 3. Two-part lands of Drumcharry and Bottomcraig, 1 acre in Little Ley, 1 acre in Over Drumcharryfauld, 8 acres in Bottomcraig in four separate portions.

Abbot Robert and Convent give charter of these to Richard Willson in 1549. 1574, William Ballingall in Dumbarrow. 1617, His heir, William Ballingall, maltman in Cupar. 1617, Robert Fyfe in Kirkton, and Agnes Ballingall his spouse.

No. 4. Portion of Boghall. George Galloway probably possesses Boghall in 1572. In 1591 Alexander Galloway sells "his westmost (?) acre in Boghall" to James Tulloch in Scurr, and, same time, gives charter of "the shady half of the westmost acre of B." to William Ballingall. 1617, his heir, William Ballingall. 1617, Robert Fyfe and Agnes Ballingall.

Nos. 2, 3, and 4. About 1617, Thomas Crichton. 1620, Sir James Crichton.

No. 5. Ten acres in Bottomcraig. In 1539 Abbot Robert and convent give charter of these to Janet Graham, and David Jack her son.

No. 6. Two acres in Bottomcraig. John Thomson acquired these, probably from Abbot Robert. Afterwards John Bruce. In 1618 John Bruce in Wormet, grandson of the last.

No. 7. 6 acres in Dochrone, with privilege of breustead. Lau-

rence Colline acquired these, perhaps from Abbot Robert. Afterwards Thomas Colline (?).

No. 8. Two acres in Dochrone. Thomas Harvie acquired these probably from Abbot Robert. 1636, David Harvie (?) (In 1630 the heirs of Henry Mitchell have 8 acres in Dochrone.)

Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8. In 1630, and down to 1636, Andrew Glassford, burgess in Cupar. Then Patrick Glassford, bailie in Cupar, whose son Robert became minister of Kemback in 1664. (Lamont, in his Diary, says, "1652, December—All that Mr Patrick Glasfoord, in Cuper, had was comprised for debt; both his lande of Bottome Craige and his house in Cuper. Some dayes after, he took up a publicke change att his house in Cuper.") By a decret of apprising obtained at the instance of Lord Coupar in 1666 against John Glassford and others for the payment of the feu-duties of these lands, the lands were appraised to pertain to Lord Coupar, for payment of £2230, and thus were added to the Balmerino estate.

Nos. 7 and 8 were disposed in 1695 by John, Master of Balmerino, to the Hays of Naughton in exchange for lands at Leadwells and Harlands, and the "Butts" at the Byres, amounting to six acres.

No. 1. In 1644, David Auchmouty, skipper in St Andrews, son of Robert Auchmouty. Same year, Andrew Balfour of Grange. Then David Balfour of Grange, who in 1697 disposed these lands to John, Master of Balmerino.

(4.) Portions of Barncroft, Harlands, &c.

No. 1. Four acres in Barncroft. Abbot Robert and Convent give charter of these in 1554 to Helen Bunsh. 1573, John Yester. 1598, George Yester.

No. 2. One acre in Harlands. Alexander Matthew gives charter and sasine of this in 1569 and 1571 to John Yester and Helen Bunsh. 1599, George Yester.

No. 3. Piece of ground east of Barnden Burn. James Thomson gives charter of this in 1594 to John Yester. 1599, George Yester.

Nos. 1, 2, and 3. In 1599 Alexander Philp, St Andrews. 1613, James Stenhouse, Luthrie. 1623, his wife. 1642, David Stenhouse.

No. 4. *Three acres in Harlands, one acre in Woodflat, and piece of ground in Barnden.* Abbot Robert and Convent give tack of these in 1544 for 19 years, with their teinds, for 80s. and 8 poultry annually, to Thomas Thomson. In 1549 Abbot Robert, &c., give charter of these to said T. T. In 1596 Henry Thomson. 1596, Thomas Mathew in Kinnaird. 1614, Robert Brebner in Inshyra. 1641, Isobel Brebner. 1653, John Brebner. 1654, Robert Brebner in Sheathwindmill. 1654, Rebecca Swindon, relict of David Stenhouse in Byres. 1697, John Stenhouse, son of do., and factor to the Master of Balmerino, who, same year, disposes Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4 to John, Master of Balmerino.

(5.) Five acres in Bottomcraig, &c.

Five acres in Bottomcraig, whereof 4 acres lie in Scurbank, and one acre in Drumcherrybank.

Abbot Robert and Convent give charter of these, date unknown, to George Ramsay in Dundee, and George Ramsay in Cultra gets in 1579 croft and yard near the monastery, possessed by Elizium (?) Dangel. Then David Ramsay of Dundee. 1600, William Ramsay of Dundee. 1643, Grissel Ramsay.* 1652, John Tarbet in Dundee. 1667, William Tarbet and Marion Durham his spouse. 1671, said M. D. and Elspet Tarbet. 1694, William Tarbet, who disposes them to Marion Durham. Then Captain William Durham. 1702, William Tarbet in Norway, who, same time, disposes them to John, Master of Balmerino.

* In the Dundee "Howff" there is a monument to this William Ramsay and his daughter Grissel, containing the following inscription:—

"Here sleeps a pious man endowed with virtue, William Ramsay, merchant and citizen of Dundee, who died 2d February, in the year 1640, and of his age 70.

"James Ramsay, son-in-law of the deceased, with Grissel Ramsay his chaste wife, daughter of the defunct, caused this monument to be erected at their proper expense,

"In on bed ve both did kelp,
In on grave ve both doe sleip;
I hop the grave sal ve restor
Both agane to his heavnly glori."

Thomson's History of Dundee.

(6.) Five Acres in Bottomcraig.

Five acres of Bottomcraig, lying in Scurbank.

Acquired from the Abbey by Boyter or Buttour. In 1630, Andrew Boyter in Dundee. 1631, Andrew Boyter's heirs. 1643, Grissel Boyter, spouse of Patrick Guthry, burgess of Dundee, granddaughter of the last. 1658, William Guthrie, her son (?). 1674, Andrew Gray, son of John Gray, merchant burgess of Dundee, grandson of Grissel Boyter. 1617, Mr James Gray of Bulzeon (?). Now, Mr Stuart of Balmerino.

(7.) Two acres in Bottomcraig.

Acquired from the Abbey by Watson. In 1630, William Watson's heirs. 1631, Thomas Glen. 1647, David Paterson and Christian Glen, served heirs-portioners of William Watson, their maternal great-grandfather. 1658, Christian Glen, who married John Wan in St. Fort. She was also a portioner of Cultra, and died in 1687. Now, Mr Stuart of Balmerino (?).

In 1783 Lord Moray acquired Stark's lands, then extending to 3.188 acres of the south bank of Bottomcraig (Scurbank), with his houses and yard of Bottomcraig, consisting of .218 acre, for which he gave in exchange to Mr Stark 3.188 acres of arable land, and 2.243 acres of moor, with houses and yard at east end of said moor, sometime possessed by George Smith. Mr Stark at the same time renounced his right of pasturage and cutting of turf on the moors and outfields of Bottomcraig, belonging to the Earl.

About the same time, Lord Moray effected similar exchanges of land, &c., with Melville and Anderson of Bottomcraig—the latter in 1798—whose lands were previously in Scurbank. The lands thus acquired by them—lying west of Stark's lands—were of greater extent than those which they gave in exchange, being partly arable, and partly moor.

§ 2. ABBEY LANDS NOW INCLUDED IN THE ESTATE OF NAUGHTON.

(1.) Cathills.

The lands of Cathills were acquired in 1539 by Sir Peter Crichton, by charter from Abbot Robert and Convent.

In 1546 David Crichton of Naughton acquired from Abbot Robert and Convent the fishings of Cathills (otherwise called those of Harvieden, or Helvieden) and of Kilburns, betwixt the stone called the *Black Ox*, or *Great Black Stone* at the head of the haven of Cathills on the east, and Thornyslak, or Thornyflak, at the west, not passing the Maw Craig.

(2.) Kilburns.

Some portion of Kilburns was acquired in 1539 by Sir Peter Crichton, by charter from Abbot Robert and Convent. A contract between Balfour of Balledmonth and Crichton in 1594 mentions Kilburns as part of Naughton; and thereafter it is frequently mentioned as such.

Eight acres of Kilburns, or Wester Kilburns. In 1540 Alexander Matthew got Papal confirmation of a charter of these acres granted to him by the Abbot and Convent. In 1596 Preston acquired them from Matthew. They remained in the possession of the Prestons till 1806, when Pitcairn acquired them. He sold them to Mr Morison of Naughton in 1809.

(For nearly 200 years the lairds of Kilburns seem to have been called *Alexander Preston*.)

Seven acres of Kilburns. Before 1604, Alexander Gilzeot. In 1604, Andrew Small. 1636, Jean Small, his daughter. Now, Naughton.

(3.) Scurbank.

Four acres in Scurbank.

James Tullois or Tulloch acquired these, probably from the Abbey. 1630, James Bartlet has 5 acres. 1647, Margaret Bartlet, his dr., gets these, and one acre more. (In 1650, Thomas Walker possessed certain lands at Scurr—probably these acres; and in 1667, John Walker.) 1742, James Farmer. 1808, James Farmer. Now, Naughton.

Six acres in Scurbank. William, or Thomas Fender acquired these, probably from the Abbey. In 1602, Mr Thomas Douglas of Stonypath. 1634, James Douglas, his son. 1674, Robert Douglas of Glenbervie, who, between 1704 and 1709, sold them to John Hay of Naughton.

(4.) Scrogieside.

Some part of Scrogieside seems to have belonged to Naughton before 1637.

In 1630 Hew Scott has *six acres of Scrogieside*. In 1644, David Auchmuty of Demmings was served heir to his father Robert Auchmuty in the lands of Scrogieside. They seem to have been afterwards added to the lands of Douglas of Ardit, or Glenbervie, in Scurbank, who possessed them in 1694, and sold them to John Hay of Naughton. (The Earl of Moray afterwards possessed part of Scur and Scrogieside, acquired probably by excambion.)

(5.) North Kirkton.

Four ox-gates of arable land, north of the Mains or Manor-place of Balmerino (North Kirkton).

These lands seem to have been first acquired by Sir Peter Crichton from the Abbey. Afterwards, Wilson. In 1600, Henry Wilson was served heir to Thomas Wilson in these lands. In 1617 Robert Fyfe probably possessed them. Peter Hay acquired them before 1630.

(6.) Bottomcraig.

Boghall—or part of it—was possessed in 1694 by Andrew Hedderwick, and in 1742 by Mrs Janet Hedderwick. In 1808, Naughton.

House and garden, with pasture for a cow, at Bottomcraig. In 1574, Commendator Henry gave a charter of these to Alison Gagye, and Janet Bane her mother. Purchased by Naughton in 1865.

In 1864 *Mr Stark-Christie's lands at Bottomcraig* were purchased by Miss Morison of Naughton.

The southern half of Melville's lands at Bottomcraig, with houses, were purchased a few years ago by Miss Morison, and about the same period Mrs Morison bought three other houses and gardens at Bottomcraig, north of the Manse, of which the two on the west side occupy the site of the house belonging to the Melvilles

before their lands were excambed; and the one on the east side was the house belonging to the Andersons, before the excambion of their lands.

(7.) Dochrone.

Two acres in Dochrone. Watson acquired these, probably from the Abbey. In 1595, Alexander Watson. Afterwards, James Watson. 1631, David Watson, son of the last. 1635, Euphemia and Margaret Watson, sisters of David. 1674, James Duncan in Cultra got $\frac{1}{2}$ of the 2 acres, as grandson of Margaret Watson's sister. Andrew Rawit (1650) seems to have got the other half. Afterwards, Thomas Morton. Now, Naughton.

Three acres in Dochrone. 1630, William Bane of Pitmossie. Afterwards, John Bane. In 1687, Helen Bane, wife of George Jack in Fliskmillan, as heir of her father John Bane. Now, Naughton.

In 1726 Robert Barclay was a portioner of Dochrone, and in 1729 John Spindie was a portioner of the same—probably the above acres. Now, Naughton.

One acre in Dochrone. Fowlis probably acquired this from the Abbey. Now, Naughton.

(Before 1607 David Fowlis had a toft called "Smiddyland" in Gauldry, with 5 acres arable attached to it, and 1 acre, with pasture, in Mains of Naughton. But these were probably not Abbey lands. In 1621 Smiddylands belonged to Peter Hay of Naughton.)

Colline's six acres in Dochrone or Drumcharry, and Harvey's two acres in Dochrone were acquired in 1695 by Peter Hay of Naughton and his son John, in excambion for certain lands at Leadwells, &c. See page 405. (It was probably these 8 acres which Henry Mitchell possessed in Dochrone before 1630.)

(8.) Easter Grange, Dochrone, Bangove, &c.

In 1598 David Ramsay, probably the 2d of that name in Grange, obtained a charter of confirmation under the Great Seal, of the

following lands, which had been feued from the Abbey some considerable time previously:—Half of Newgrange, with 2 acres more; half of Cleikumsleugh and Battlelaw; 2 acres of Cultra; half of Outfield of Byres, with Wattiesfauld; 4 acres more of Cultra; the lands of Bangove, extending to 13 acres; Dochrone, 16 acres; 3 acres of Harlands, and one in Woodflat. These lands were acquired by Peter Hay about 1621, and Easter Grange, half of Cleikumsleugh and of Battlelaw, with the above acres of Bangove and Dochrone, are still included in the estate of Naughton. It was probably the acres in Harlands and Woodflat, east of Thornton, which were acquired by Birkhill, by excambion, early in this century.

Spindie's Balgove. About 1732 John Spindie purchased 3 acres of Bangove from Robert Hay of Naughton. He died in 1742, and was succeeded by John Spindie his son. Two acres were added to this property at the division of Bandean Muir. Now, Naughton.

(9.) Pitmossie.

Pitmossie—5 acres—acquired by Bane, probably from the last Abbot. In 1630, William Bane, senior. 1635, William Bane served heir of his grandfather, William Bane. In 1717, Mrs Duddingstone. In 1729, John Black. In 1742, Robert Howieson. In 1789, Thomas Howieson. Afterwards Walter Birrel. 1836—when it amounted to about 24 acres arable—William Ferguson. Now, Naughton.

§ 3. ESTATE OF BALLINDEAN.

In 1539 Paul Stirk gets charter from Abbot Robert and Convent of 12 acres arable of Ballindean, 3 acres of Dochrone, and 2 acres of Bottomcraig. In 1546 he acquires the privilege of pasture on the commony of the moor of Newgrange.

From 1607 to 1610 David Beattie of Karsmyre appears to possess these lands, and in the latter year resigns them again in favour of George Stirk.

In 1624 George Stirk acquires from Peter Hay of Naughton the meadow and “swardieird” of the half lands of Newgrange; the “loan” leading from Muir of Grange to said meadow; and 4 “riggends” betwixt Bandean lands on the north and the Motray on

the south. In 1778 Bandean gets $1\frac{1}{2}$ acre of West Grange from Birkhill, in exchange for his rights of pasture, &c., on West Grange, then renounced. In 1780 Bandean gets from Naughton 6 acres of East Grange; 1 acre of Bandean Muir; 2 acres of Bandean park; and $3\frac{1}{4}$ other acres of Bandean Muir; in exchange for his houses, yards, and lands in Gauldry, and his right of pasture on East Grange, then renounced. (These lands in Gauldry were probably the acres of Dochrone acquired by Paul Stirk in 1539.) (An excambion with Lord Moray at Bottomcraig, and sale of lands there, have been already mentioned. See pp. 407, 409.)

[In 1563 the lands (and miln) of Newbigging, in Kilmany parish, then belonging to the Provost and Canons of the "Collegiate Church of St Andrews," were set in tack, in three equal divisions, to as many tenants, who, in 1566, purchased their several portions. After passing through many hands, one third of these lands was acquired in 1617 by George Stirk of Ballindean from Andrew Small; another third part by Thomas Stirk of B. in 1683 from Sir Michael Balfour of Denmiln, and James Balfour his brother; and the three equal parts of the remaining third were acquired by the Rev. John Stark in 1734, 1735, and 1736 from James Anderson, John Kilgour, and Robert Howieson respectively.]

§ 4. ESTATE OF BIRKHILL.

(1.) Grange.

A charter of the following lands, previously acquired from the Abbey, was resigned in 1569 by David Balfour of Balbuthy, and Elizabeth Wemyss his spouse, into the hands of Commendator John Hay, for a new charter, which received confirmation under the Great Seal in 1572, at which latter date David Balfour was dead, but his wife was alive:—One-fourth of New Grange; one-fourth of Cleikamscleugh and Battlelaw; one-half of Crossfaulda, except 2 acres on west side thereof; 1 acre of Cultra; $\frac{1}{4}$ of Outfield of Byres, excepting Craingrugiesfauld; 1 acre of Docherone; another acre on north side thereof, formerly possessed by the late Alexander Cockburn; one-half of the other fourth of New Grange, Cleikamscleugh, Battlelaw, Crossfaulda, and Outfields of

Byres ; 1 acre more of Cultra ; along with the principal house or Hall (*aula*) "on this side" of said half of fourth-part lands, and other houses formerly held by Robert Cockburn, and afterwards inhabited by David Balfour.

Certain other portions of New Grange, &c., were possessed by Oliphant, who probably acquired them from the last Abbot. John Oliphant had them in 1596. In 1613 these were held by Robert Auchmuty. Before 1631 (apparently in 1620) they were acquired by Michael Balfour of Grange. They comprehended the following : —one-eighth of Newgrange ; one-eighth of the meadows of Newgrange ; one-eighth of the 4 oxgates of Cleikamscleuch and Battlelaw ; one-eighth of 8 oxgates of outfields of Byres ; and half an acre in Cultra. See page 311. (Two houses, &c., at Byres were acquired by Balmerino from Birkhill within the present century.)

(2.) Corbie.

Abbot Robert and Convent granted to Andrew Lesley of Kilmany, afterwards Earl of Rothes, a charter of Corbie, Corbiehill, &c., which charter was confirmed under the Great Seal in 1540-1. The description of these lands, as contained in Sir John Lesley's *Retour of Service* of the year 1614, has already been given at page 313 with sufficient minuteness. The Wood of Balmerino and fishings of Barnden had been held by the Kinneirs, and by them feued to Learmouth of Balcomie and Birkhill.

(3.) Cultra.

The lands of Cultra were originally feued from the Abbey in numerous small portions. Appendix, Nos. IX and XIII-XVII show the names of the feuars at the several periods to which they refer. The succession subsequently is very intricate, and difficult to trace. In 1742 the portioners of Cultra were John Jack, James Paton, James Bell, Agnes Tais (*liferentrix*), and Henry Mitchell's heirs. In 1778 the names, besides that of Mr Scrimgeour of Birkhill, were George Kinnear (whose predecessors were the Patons), James Small and his spouse Euphemia Niven, George Henderson (see next page), John Ballingall, writer in Dundee, and James Morison of Naughton. In that year the several feuars renounced to Mr

Scrimgeour of Birkhill their servitudes of pasturage on the lands of West Grange, in exchange for certain portions of land then given to them by him. Ballingall got nearly 7 acres; James Morison upwards of 4; George Henderson upwards of 4; George Kinnear $1\frac{1}{2}$; James Small $3\frac{1}{4}$. Of these, 10 acres were not arable, and were situated on Cultra Hill. At a subsequent period some of the land on Cultra Hill appears to have been reclaimed, and to have been afterwards planted by Mr Wedderburn of Birkhill. Ballingall's lands afterwards passed to David Kerr and Ebenezer Anderson, and amounted to about 26 acres. In 1789 James Morison of Naughton sold his lands at Cultra to Mr Wedderburn, who afterwards acquired all the other lands of Cultra, excepting Mr George Henderson's.

§ 5. HENDERSON'S LANDS OF CULTRA.

Six acres of Cultra.—In 1540 James Bartlet and Mirabella Braid, his spouse, acquired these from Abbot Robert and Convent. (A charter of these lands of the year 1547 is signed by the Abbot and eleven monks, and subsequent charters by smaller numbers.) In 1596 John, son of James Bartlet, succeeds. 1596, Henry Mitchell in Bangove purchases these lands for £68. 1615, John, son of Henry Mitchell. 1624, David Watson. 1635, Euphemis and Margaret Watson, sisters of David, get each a half of these lands, and of the 2 acres of Dochrone belonging to their late father, James. In 1674, Andrew Rawit, probably the son of one of the Watsons, has 2 of the 6 acres in Cultra, and James Duncan, "great grandson of Margaret Watson's sister," has the remainder. Then Andrew Rawit makes over his share to James Duncan. 1680, James Duncan, his son. 1712, David Duncan, son of James, who in 1719 sells the property to Henry Mitchell, servitor (butler) to the Laird of Naughton, for £75.* George Henderson afterwards married Jean, daughter of Henry Mitchell, and thus acquired the property. Their son, George Henderson, succeeded in 1778. In that year he acquired $4\frac{1}{4}$ acres additional (of which 2 acres were unarable, and situated on Cultra Hill) from Mr. Scrimgeour in exchange for his right of pasturage &c. on lands of Newgrange, then renounced. Part of these lands was perhaps subsequently again

* Henry Mitchell died in 1724, aged 52; and his wife, Catherine Wilson, in 1742 aged 72. A stone is erected to their memory in Balmerino Churchyard.

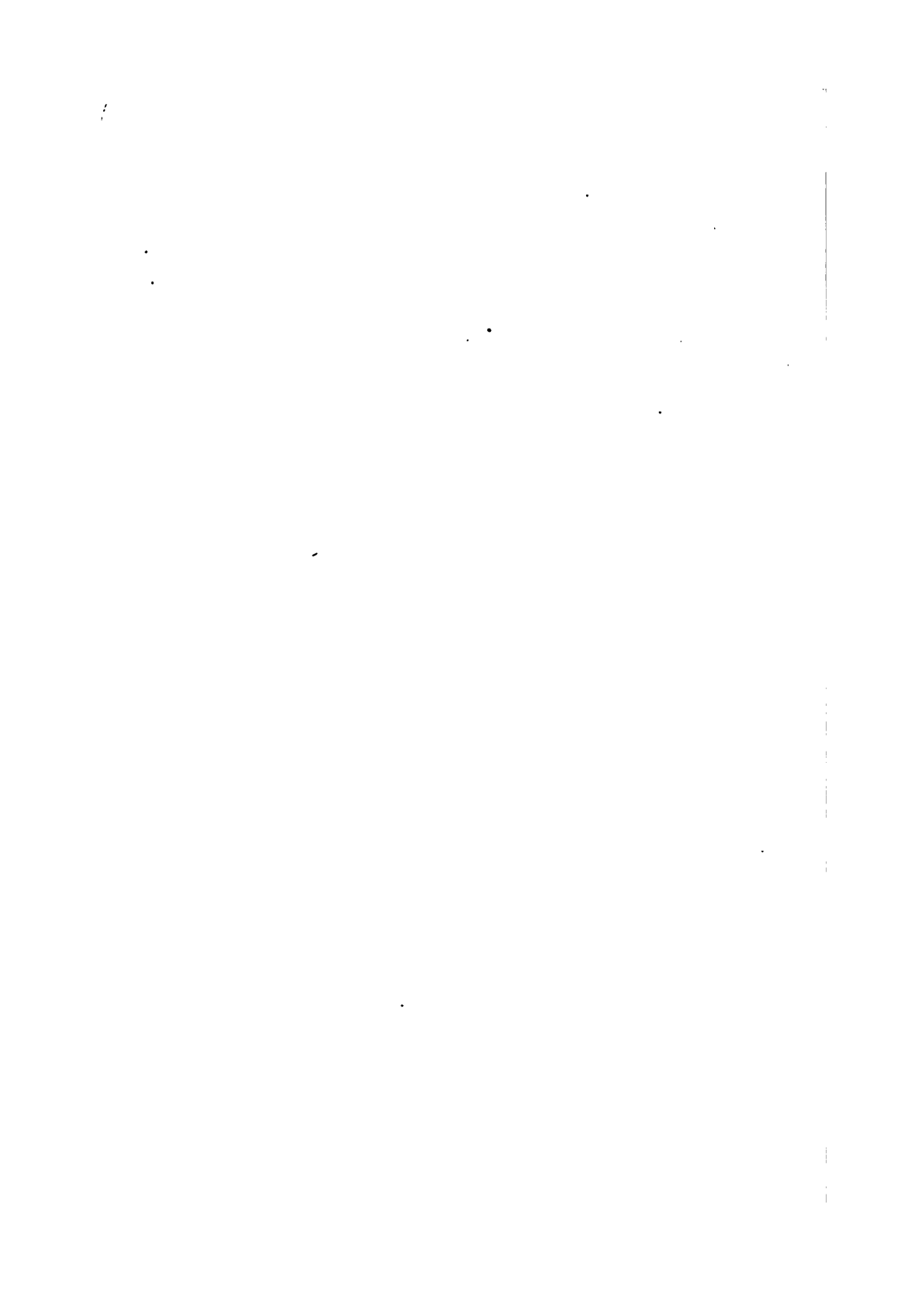
exchanged. In 1818 George Henderson disposed his lands to his son George, the present proprietor.

§ 6. ANDERSON'S LANDS OF BOTTOMCRAIG.

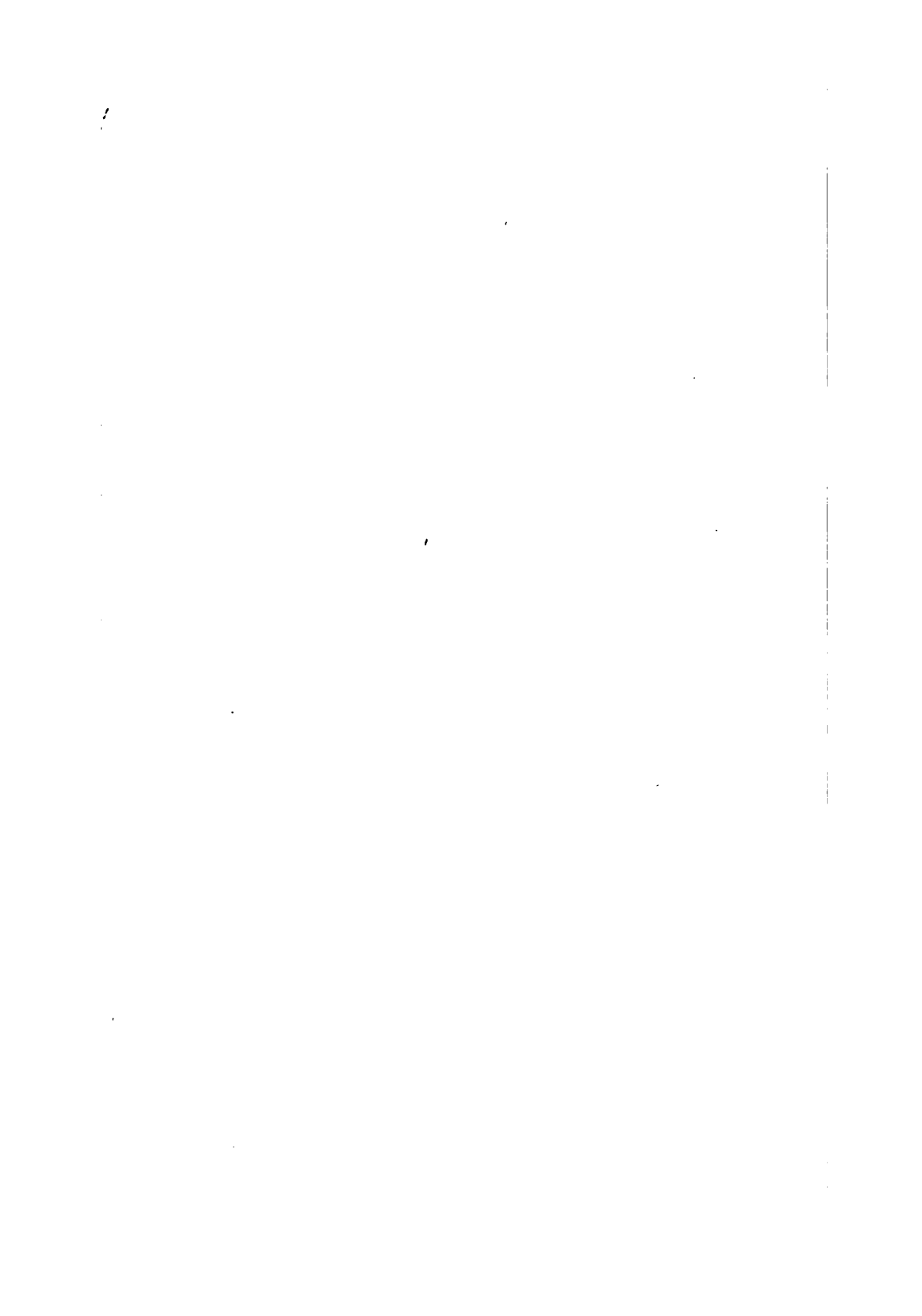
In 1682 James Anderson and Grisel Paterson, his spouse, were infeft in £2 Scots of annual rent out of an acre of land at Bottomcraig. (Index to Sasines, General Register House.) It was perhaps this land of which James Anderson appears as feuar in 1695. In 1717 James Anderson is mentioned as "portioner of Bottomcraig." The name of the former possessor of his land is uncertain. James Anderson continues to be the name at various dates down to 1789 *at least*. In that year there was an excambion (see page 407). In 1813 Andrew Anderson is the possessor. He died in 1836, leaving the property to his dr. Elizabeth (who married Alexander Blyth), the present proprietrix.

§ 7. MELVILLE'S LANDS OF BOTTOMCRAIG.

In 1742 Andrew Melville appears as portioner of Bottomcraig. The previous possessor of his lands is uncertain. A. M. was succeeded by his son, Thomas M., who was alive in 1789. About that period these lands, which were mostly in Scurrbank, were exchanged for others, as already mentioned (see page 407). Afterwards Thomas's sons, Andrew and David M., succeeded. Andrew's half of these lands was sold to Naughton a few years ago by his son Andrew. David's half is now possessed by his son, Stewart Melville.



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CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

- Page 4, line 1. It may be doubted whether the facts bear out a division into three *consecutive* periods.
- Page 6, lines 24 and 25. For *last year* read *two years ago*.
- Page 8, line 7 from foot. There appears to be no *proof* that stone circles were connected with Druidical worship.
- Page 12, line 4. The death of an Abbot of *Cind Righ Monaigh* is recorded in the Annals of Tighernach under the year 747. If this place denotes St Andrews (Kilrymonth), as Dr Joseph Robertson supposes, the Culdee establishment there must have existed before the time of Hungus. (See Robertson's "Statuta Ecclesiae Scoticanæ," vol. I., p. ccvi.) Mr Skene thinks St Andrews may have been founded in 736.
- Page 25, line 5 from foot. After *a third* add [*two-thirds*?].
- Page 28, line 9. For *velleins* read *villains*.
- Page 28, line 13. For *Velleinage* read *Villeinage*.
- Page 40, line 4 from foot. For *cantius* read *cautius*.
- Page 51, line 6. Bishop Bernham of St Andrews (1238-1252) consecrated or dedicated, in the space of ten years, no fewer than 140 of the 300 churches in his diocese. If all these churches were, as is probable, built or rebuilt within that period, the fact furnishes a remarkable illustration of the rapid rate at which such structures were erected in the 13th century. Of these, Flisk church was consecrated in 1242; Collessie, Dairsie, Cults, and Barry in 1243; Leuchars in 1244; Moonzie and Whittinghame in 1245. (Robertson's "Statuta Ecclesiae Scoticanæ," vol. I., pp. clxxxv. and ccxcviii.) The church of Leuchars was anciently dedicated to St Athernasc, whose day is the 22d of December. The churches of Flisk and Lindores were dedicated to Macgridin (Mac Odran, or Adrian), whose day is the 4th of March. (Mr Skene's Article in "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland," vol. IV. pp. 308-321.)
- Page 57, line 2 from foot, and page 85, last line. For *Scotochronicon* read *Scotichronicon*.
- Page 60, lines 3 and 11 from foot. For *bracketted* read *bracketed*.
- Page 69, line 1. The original, which is not classical Latin, should perhaps be translated "*a very learned man for his age*."
- Page 84, line 1. For *Urban VI.* read *Urban IV.*
- Page 90, line 6. For *Henry* read *Hervey*.

- Page 94, line 8. Delete *Castle Street* (in *vico castellano*), and add (*de vico castellano*) after *Castle Street* in line 16.
- Page 96, line 8. After *Aynstroyir* add *and also confers on the monks the privilege of having a bracinum on their land, and of erecting boyas (booths or huts), the inhabitants of which may spread their nets to dry on his ground.* Line 11. For "*Religions*" read "*Religious.*"
- Page 100, line 7 from foot. For *sous* read *sons*.
- Page 107, line 8 from foot. For *youth* read *youths*.
- Page 109, line 6 from foot. For *furnish* read *furnishes*.—First note. It is not very clear to which of the Maules of Panmure Mr. Jervise refers, and the date he attaches to the contract must be a wrong one.
- Page 112, line 11 from foot. For *Hollingshead* read *Hollinshead*.
- Page 123, note. A similar instance occurs in the Records of the Kirk-Session of St Andrews, which are coeval with the Reformation, and contain the recantation of many monks—some of the recantations being specially marked *propria manu*, as if written by deputy. Line 15. For *Durie* read *Dunne*.
- Page 124, line 13 from foot. For *Lunon* read *Lunan*.
- Page 136, line 7 from foot. For *this request* read *these requests*.
- Page 152, line 10. In 1831 or 1832 a neatly cut stone coffin, containing a skull and bones, was dug up from the Abbey ruins, near the spot where the high altar of the Abbey church probably stood. It was supposed—whether correctly or not—to be the coffin of Queen Ermengarde; but was broken to pieces by Mrs. Mitchell, the farmer's wife, and used for scrubbing her kitchen-floor!
- Page 163, line 15. For *did not receive the royal sanction* read *were not fully legalized*.
- Page 171, line 10 from foot. For *of confirmation* read *under the Great Seal*.
- Page 185, line 17, for 1613 read *perhaps in 1607*. (The transmission of these lands is very obscure, and the account given at p. 404 may not be correct in every particular.)
- Page 192, note. The correctness of the first two statements is doubtful. The school was at Bottomcraig as early as 1701.
- Page 237, line 13 from foot. The intended coronation appears not to have actually taken place.
- Page 256, line 21. For *twenty-six* read *sixteen*.
- Page 272, line 4 from foot. After *was* read *probably*.
- Page 287, line 9 from foot. For *Charles II.* read *Charles I.*
- Page 292, line 10 from foot. For *Scots* read *sterling*.
- Page 310, line 13. For 1599 read 1559.
- Page 314, line 7. For *Danmiln* read *Denmiln*.
- Page 324, line 2 from foot. After *to* read *that of*.

Page 348, line 6. For *to* read *at*.

Page 371, line 2. After *Balmerino* add *as will appear be ane particular Rental*. (The Rental referred to is, however, not recorded.).

Page 378, lines 1 and 2. The names *Thornton* and *Fincraigs* are not disused, nor are the places uninhabited.

Page 379, line 2 from foot, and page 376, line 17. For *Machhirb* read *Machchirb*.

Page 383, line 8 from foot. For *musket* read *mullet*.

Page 390, line 8 from foot. John Kinneir of that Ilk is said to have died in Dundee on the 21st of June 1584, aged 63 ; and to have been buried there. (Monteith's "Theater of Mortality," p. 51). If this is correct, there must have been two successive lairds of Kinneir named John.





